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EDITORIAL.

The present volume of our Institute's journal contains 6 papers and 1 book review. The paper on "Status, Hierarchy and Hinduisation in Pauri Bhuiyan Society in North Orissa" by Professor L. K. Mahapatra is based on the field work undertaken by the author in the Pauri Bhuiyan Society. He has noticed the quasi-hierarchical division in their society besides the status dichotomy between men and women. The *Matua* (Children of the soil) section enjoys higher social status than the *Parja* (subjects) section and the two sections have also been analysed in the context of village community. The roles of men and women have been clearly delineated and it is revealed that although the Pauri Bhuiyan women are denied participation in political life, they enjoy participation in rituals and festivities organised in the village level. The social positions of ascetic and secular chiefs have been explicitly analysed. The author has further highlighted on the 'incipient stratification' and 'status change in Government colonies'. The section on the "Inter-community Status and Hinduisations" further reveals the inter-relationship between the Pauri Bhuiyan and caste Hindus and the process of Hinduisations.

The paper on "Status of Tribal Communities of Orissa" by Professor N. K. Behura is a comprehensive census of the Scheduled Tribes of our State. It analytically discusses the ethno-linguistic divisions, economic classifications, planned development efforts for socio-economic development with sectoral programmes, like agriculture, soil conservation, horticulture, co-operation, animal resources, health and family welfare, drinking water-supply, road communication, human resources development and education and references on land and forest. With this backdrop in view, the author critically examines the tribal development activities and puts forth some constructive suggestions.

The paper on "A Study of the Process of Change in the Life of the Primitive Tribes in Matubhanj : ORISSA" by Dr. Rajalaxmi Pathi contains a general description on various Scheduled Tribes inhabiting Matubhanj district. The author then concentrates on the primitive tribal groups, like the Hill-Kheria and Mankirdia. The paper discusses various socio-economic development programmes, such as rehabilitation, agriculture, live stock, cottage industry, infrastructure, etc. Further, the impact of the schemes on beneficiaries has been appraised. At the concluding stage, the author incorporates some suggestions for more development inputs and popular participation.

The paper on "Ethnic Aspects of Indian Sago Palm (*Caryota Ueng-Li*)—An Ethno-Botanical Study among Kutia Kondhs" by M. K. Jena, Klaus Seeliger and K. K. Pattnaik reveals the traditional use of Indian Sago Palm which are intimately inter-woven with the socio-cultural aspects of the Kutia Kondha lifestyle. The paper contains a vivid description of Sago Palm trees, yields and other uses and how the Kutia Kondha section of the larger Kondha community make use of the trees. Further people's perception, property ownership, socio-economic, socio-cultural, socio-religious aspects connected with Sago Palm have been highlighted. The sections on the 'esthetic scenario' and 'conservation policy' are flavoured with a deep sense of human approach.

The paper on "Indigenous Practices in Health Care" by Dr. S. Swain emphasizes on the methodology of documentation of herbal and medicinal plants found in interior parts. As the system of traditional indigenous practices in health care are facing extinction, the author feels the necessity of their appropriate documentation. As an illustrative case, the author has documented the names of plants/methods used for the control of conception and opines that their authenticity needs to be proved.

The current issue of the journal in its Book Review Section contains one review on the book titled, *Changing Values and Tribal Societies (A Comparative Study of the Munda and Gonds: Values Orientations)* authored by Professor A. R. N. Srivastava (1992).

The Editor expresses his heartfelt gratitude to esteemed contributors of papers and the members of the Editorial Board for their sustained co-operation.

(EDITOR)

Status, Hierarchy and Hinduisation in Puri Bhuiyan Society in North Orissa

L. K. Malapetra

I had undertaken field work among the Hill Bhuiyan, or Puri Bhuiyan as the primitive tribal group called itself, in 1963-64 as Research Scholar of the Tribal Research Bureau, now known as Tribal and Harjan Research-cum-Training Institute. Though primarily I had taken up residence on the hill of Bonai in Tari village, I had cultivated familiarity with some other villages in the valley below, like Deruli with some lands seasonally irrigated by damming up a hill stream, or Budhishull along a hill brook, wedged between hills. Besides, I had undertaken some preliminary studies among the Puri Bhuiyan resettled in Daleiuli and Chokamundi colonies with forest-cleared land under Government sponsorship. Some families from Tari village had come down to settle in a locality called Guliabeydih in Chokamundi colony. In a way, these Tari families were exaxed and obliged to come down the hill village, but were maintaining social, ritual and economic ties with the mother village even in 1967, when I had got the last reports for writing my doctoral thesis on the people at Hamburg University. The status and roles of village functionaries as also the basic dichotomy of the society between the high status *Mitilli* and *Parji* of lower status were maintained even when the villagers were resettled at Guliabeydih. Another basic status dichotomy between men and women has also been taken up, as it is forcefully obvious in their society.

In the following pages, I deal with the basic quasi-hierarchical division of the society between *Mitilli* and *Parji* and the ascribed and achieved statuses found in the society, besides discussing in general the role of wealth and power at the base of this hierarchy in village society. A discussion is presented on the social position of the Puri Bhuiyan in relation to other tribal groups and Hindu castes and their orientation to Hindu society in general in the region at the

junction of 4 ex-Princely States, namely Boudh (at present in Sundergarh district), Keonjhar (at present consisting Kendrapara district), Bhadrak (at present in Dhenkanal district) and Jharsuguda (at present in Deogarh district). The facts and relations described refer to the 1960's and most probably equally well, to the 1980's.

Status, ascribed and achieved

With regards the social status of a person as 'his position in a social system, represented by the rights and privileges he enjoys and the obligations or duties he should perform' (Human Types, P. 103). Status may be "ascribed", that is, given by virtue of birth, or "achieved", that is, ascribed by virtue of individual merits. The fact that ascribed status may be denied because of ritual, physical or mental deficiencies does not invalidate this important distinction.

We have seen above that the priests because of their vital roles in the economic life and physical well-being of the villages enjoy high social status, as does the Headman for his socio-political leadership in corporate activities of the village. These are the most highly prized positions in the society which are open only to the 'Mitilli' section as a whole. Others who are not born in this group are distanced from these offices and privileges.

Against these cases of ascribed status we available a wide range of opportunities for achieved social status. Through acquisition of paper knowledge one might attain the very important status of medicineman-cum-shaman, or at least a lower position of diviner-cum-expounder. The social status of the witches is not low, perhaps primarily because they come from the wealthiest households, but they also enjoy certain circumspect consideration through fear, which impels villagers to be on good terms with them.

As we have seen, the offices of Member of "Grama Panchayat" and his assistants have tended to be attained by 'Parji' men. Assistants to the priests and priestesses are selected *ad hoc* and the senior 'Parji' are usually welcome because of their experience. The musings of the Village Assembly are junior 'Parji' elders. Proficiency in singing, beating drums or tam-tams, dancing, handicrafts, hunting or other skills, especially in making good speeches, brings prestige and thus contributes to the social status of a person.

Apart from such achieved status but closely allied to it is the higher status accorded to a married individual, especially to a family having its own household, the head of the household being automatically an elder of the Village Assembly.

Women are accorded a lower social status than that of men in general. They are, however, far from being shamed or repudiated. Their contribution in the economic life is indispensable and vital, they may accumulate property of their own and bequeath it as they think fit, have almost as much say as their men have in household affairs and specially on the question of marriage of children, and they worship village deities and demons, and hold festivities of their own and sometimes act as a group. On the other hand, there is male precedence in rituals and festivities and exclusive male control of socio-political affairs of the village, easier divorce for the men and denial to the women of inheritance of important forms of wealth including land, to day-to-day life, however, they appear to be brave and independent and not at all complaining, and they do not have any trace of purdah system, which in rural west-Orissa is not as prominent as in the cities. However, we have noted that even in food consumption they appear to be underprivileged as in other aspects of life in this patrilineal and markedly patrilineal society. But the women proudly referred either to the high status of their parents of 'Majhi' lineage of their ancestral villages or to their present incorporation in the 'Majhi' clan-section.

The all important distinction of sex, and the fundamental division of the 'Majhi' and the 'Parji' based on birth in or outside the clan-section of the first-settlers, supplemented by differences of age, hold the key to social status in the village. Added to this are the position in the lineage and even the length of stays a lineage from outside has settled in Tari. The former

latter is very important in succession of traditional offices and inheritance and the latter, in the delegation of an important office ('Member') to the seniormost elder of the oldest immigrant lineage from Idi in Pat-Lahara. Thus viewed ascribed status is of paramount importance in the socio-political life of the village. However, it must be noted that opportunities for achieving status are increasing in the "unreserved" sphere of handicrafts or of new offices like member and his assistants or even of wealth.

The village community and 'Majhi' and 'Parji' sections.

First defines a human community as "...a body of people sharing in common activities and bound by multiple relationships in such a way that the aims of any individual can be achieved only by participation in action with others" (p. 41, 1961). Besides the aspect of living together, the term, "involves a recognition, derived from experience and observation, that there must be minimum conditions of agreement on common aims, and inevitably some common ways of behaving, thinking, and feeling" (p. 27, 1961). Obviously Tari village is a community, into which people are born, in which they live, work, marry and die. Besides its territorial integrity, visual and economic unity, social and political solidarity and general behavioural conformity, the community has also some local pride and distinctiveness in many ways as against the adjacent villages. The *hamees* may be taken as sub-communities.

But this should not cover up certain fundamental divergences of status and roles, power and wealth, in general, of interests between the two segments of the community, the 'Majhi' and the 'Parji'. The 'Majhi' are descended from the first settlers of Tari and formally incorporate the immigrant families of 'Parji' on the oath that the latter would recognize the former's authority and obey the 'law of the land' including the local rituals and other customs. The very term 'Parji' means "subjects" and 'Majhi' stands for "children of the soil", who have right as 'Kshatriyabhis' or first settlers who cleared the forest.

As these groups ultimately derive their character from their divergent relations to the village territory, in this sense they are here viewed as territorial groups. The 'Majhi' group forms a clan-section as described above, while the 'Parji' group is an amorphous body of immigrant families. The latter's "group" character is

understandable in contradistinction to the 'Mijili' group, especially at the time of the ceremony of founding the village (hamlet) site, at drinking of beer with the priests and at the funeral ceremony which I had attended. At the first one an immigrant family is formally awarded the status of a village, or if already living at Taqil, is required formally to re-affirm his loyalty to the 'Mijili' section in the name of the Headman and the priests and is to prepare some native beer for the ceremony. Now in cases of interpretation the incumbent has to feed the village (hamlet) in a ceremony of 'Ubudi-Sapuri' or ritual purification. In the other two cases the 'Parji' as a group were entertained apart from the 'Mijili' and the 'Bandhu' (affinal relatives from outside). At the funeral ceremony the 'Parji' were first greeted and welcomed and then the 'Bandhu', the 'Mijili' group playing the host. This latter occasion demonstrated the precedence of specific territorial ties with the 'Parji' (who are also 'Bandhu' or affinal relatives) over the 'Bandhu' which is a pure Kingroup.

Formerly, the 'Parji' had no claim to any important official functions except being assistants to priests. The opening of the "Quema Panchiyat" or council of villages has created a new avenue for good status among the senior members of 'Parji'.

Wealth and Power

While dealing with indolentness we have already noted that there are about 7 households which are considered well-to-do in the sense that they do not go hungry in the lean months. Only one family, a recent immigrant from Khajil, where they have agricultural land and fruit-trees, can claim to be wealthy with about 200 Kilo paddy as a saving. There is another well-to-do 'Parji' household, also recent immigrant from Khajil with landed property, from which some share in the proceeds comes yearly, as in the other case. Along with 8 'Mijili' households they also save some money. One well-to-do 'Mijili' household has some paddy saved, because there are only two souls in the family and as a priest at Kumujih the remuneration is of some good amount. Moreover, the household is a bit miserly.

The 'Mijili' section claims 18 households and the 'Parji' 18. Living houses excluding the livestock sheds and including the sheds for hunting hives where it is separately constructed, we find the 'Mijili' have 37 huts between

them and the 'Parji' 20. The difference becomes more marked when we come to consider cattle and maize-gardens. Thirteen households of the 'Mijili' have one or more cattle as against only 7 households among the 'Parji'. Similarly, all the 18 'Mijili' households have one and in some cases two plots of maize-garden while only 6 'Parji' households "own" a plot. Of course, a few more 'Parji' could obtain a plot by standing claim for the village elders. Kitchen garden is similarly scarce and almost monopolized by the 'Mijili' section. One might argue that some has survived. But the fact is that there is a number of have-nots. Even there are some plots cultivated by the 'Parji' with permission of their legal "owners". If we take the wooden building lever as an instance of capitalization of effort, there are 6 among the 'Mijili' and 3 among the 'Parji'. Hurricane lanterns purchased more or less than for use were found with 8 'Mijili' households and those 3 'Parji' households who had or have intimate associations with piling-people in Pal-Lahars and Bamsa. Out of 10 plots of agriculture-fields 8 belong to the 'Mijili' group. They also own the great majority of jackfruit trees.

We have seen before how production is correlated with working hard and industry; therefore wealth increases social status. Wealth by itself hardly leads to power. Of the two 'Parji' well-to-do households, the one wealthiest has little power. Power is shared now only with the oldest and nearest immigrant lineage in the village. Partly the migration may be to keep the centre of new power at a safe distance in a hamlet where the Headman does not reside.

It remains just to be pointed out that the 'Parji' owe loyalty to the 'Mijili' section as a whole, and to the priests and the Headman in particular, and to the deities and demons of the village territory. They have to stand some native beer as something like a yearly tribute. Besides all the households had been contributing paddy for the 'Dohuri Dhan' or "Priestly Granary", collected and managed by the priests and the Headman. At the time of its distribution in 1950-51 as an institution of the total village, the paddy was distributed among the 'Mijili' families, though a half of the cereals was used in feeding the village. On the occasion of occupying aridlands under priests and the Headmen deities ate the shares on the spot.

Thus, the 'Majhi' group, deriving power ultimately from their descent from the first settlers of the village, are on the whole better off, own greater wealth, and exercise power over the 'Parj' as a whole to the material advantage of their group interests. The leadership however, lies in the hands of senior priests and the Headman, and of late it is shared in a secondary non-traditional sphere with a 'Parj' of an influential lineage. Among the women the older priestesses exercise leadership assumed by elderly 'Parj' ladies.

Men and Women

Men of the village or hamlet act as a group as participants in the village (hamlet) assembly, on hunting and fishing trips, in village (hamlet) rituals when a male representative from each household is required to partake of the offerings. In general drinking of beer or feasting on other consumable occasions. They also cook and serve all the assembled men and women in funeral and marriage ceremonies. They meet daily in the 'bachelor' dormitory or on 'Manda Darabhi' outside around the fire to gossip and deliberate. The men act and initiate as a group almost daily round the year. Of course, here the children are exempted.

The women, however, come together as a group on only a few occasions. The rituals 'Majhi Shampi' and 'Rahayi Shampi' are organized and executed exclusively by the women, who are partakers of the offerings. On the day of 'Dhulendi' the women play the most important roles in the worshipping of 'Bairi' deity reciting what appears to be origin-myths, besides staging a mock hunting in men's dress. On the occasion of 'Panthihi Pari' day, they as a body cook and offer the cakes and flowers to the menfolk in general. Similarly, they also offer cakes to older men and young men on the occasion of 'Rahayi Shampi' ceremony. Occasionally, they cook food together out of some village funds and distribute the food household-wise. As the men work under the guidance and leadership of priests and Headman, the women also are guided by older women of the priestly families, who alone worship in the rituals.

Although the women act as a group on such fewer occasions, they nonetheless fulfil important functions in the rituals and festivities of the hamlet as a whole. However, they never come together from all the households in the whole village as a group-walk in the case of men,

except at the time of funeral and marriage ceremonies when they eat together the food cooked and served by men.

In fairness to the women it must be remarked that collecting of tubers and yams, fruits or flowers, etc., does not yield to organized exploitation as hunting or fishing by men, and participation in political life of the village is denied to them. These facts together shut them off from a great many opportunities for corporate action. However, in comparison with Hindu villages the participation of women as a body in the village rituals and festivities should be remarkable.

The Priests

The Dehuri 'bairi' or maximal lineage is the seniormost in the 'Majhi' section and supplies the priests. On rare occasions, however, some senior members of the Nalika 'bairi' may officiate when the regular priests are ill or involved in ritual pollution.

The priest (Dehuri) for 'Baram' deity is of the highest rank, that of 'Ganeshi' and the 'Pai' deities and 'Nalika' comes in the second position while the priest for the 'Bairi' 'Pai' occupies the third rank.

Strangely enough, the priest of 'Bairi' 'Pai' the highest deity of the 'Bairi' 'Bari' organization, is relegated to a lower rank than that of the priests for the village deities. This might be due to the fact that the village deities have much more important roles in the rituals touching upon the economic life and security system than 'Bairi' 'Pai' has. For the latter the seniormost sub-lineage had always provided the priest, as a rule.

The priesthood is usually hereditary in the sub-lineage, but not strictly so. 'Bairi' priest has come not from the seniormost sub-lineage, which had, however, taken care of 'Ganeshi' and the other 'Pai' deities. The eldest son usually takes over the duties; if he is young or incapable, then the next brother has the privilege to serve. The division of the village into hamlets has loosened the succession to priesthood.

The priestesses do not have any emoluments except a sumptuous meal with meat and social prestige. A village priest, that of 'Ganeshi' and 'Bairi' 'Pai', was once helped by the men of the hamlet in cutting of his new swidden, and had to spend only native beer. Besides this a priest who worships on the ceremonial hunting days gets a special share of the game.

However, the *Tara* priests serving in three valley villages, Kumudh, Birci and Rangpāl, got handsome presents including cloth, and the priest of Kumudh had even a few agricultural plots on service tenure. As the *Tara* 'Mājī' had lived in these villages in the valley, only they could worship and appease the deities and demons of the neighbourhood.

The Village Headman

The village Headman or 'Nālā' comes from the *Nālā* 'bāmā' or maternal lineage. The eldest son always has the right to this office. But when the would-be 'Nālā' is a minor the next younger brother of the former 'Nālā' may manage the affairs. In Derūl because the father was quite old (about 80), the eldest son was handed over the office.

The Headman takes active interest in the well-being of the village, its cultivation and law and order situation. He is formally recognised by the local police-station at Mehulpādī and thus by the Government. All transactions of the Government officials were formerly directed to him alone and at present divided in some minor respects with the "Panchayat" Member.

But he is far from being an autocrat. He is the most powerful spokesman of the village and the first among equals, though these "equals" are the 'Mājī' people of the village. He first introduces a topic to be decided upon by mentioning the gravity, the urgency or simply the import of the occasion, and then listens to the opinions proffered by senior elders, 'Mājī' and 'Parjī'. From time to time he sums up the discussion and puts some critical points of decision for further ratification or clarification. Though he is implicitly obeyed his approach is commanding people by courteous and cautious in being often an indirect instruction. However, we have noted already how the Headman reinforces his authority with sorcery, of which he and his wife are suspected.

Apart from the social precedence shared with senior priests he enjoys no emoluments of any significance. Sometimes the villagers may work for him and get sumptuously fed for that. Formerly he had a special share on the day of successful ceremonial hunting. But he was also to give a suitable counter-present.

A junior Headman was responsible for internal day-to-day affairs in *Tal* *Taqī*. After his shifting to *Upar* *Taqī*, I found nobody working as such in 1967.

The "Panchayat" Member

This new office has been introduced in 1963 when the "Gram Panchayat" (Council of Villages) Act of the Orissa Government came into effect in Mehulpādī region. Every village was to send an elected Member to the council which sat at least once a month. In a village assembly composed of elders of both the hamlets, a senior intelligent man of the priestly lineage, a good speaker, was elected unanimously for *Taqī*. One 'Parjī' elder, known to be a good speaker and a right-hand man of the Headman was also selected as an assistant or 'Sipālī' to the Member.

After the death of the member a senior 'Parjī' from old *Tal* lineage, an experienced speaker, having some experience with plains-ways, was elected as his successor. The other 'Parjī' elder and another good speaker, a 'Kuturpā' of the 'Mājī' group, both from *Upar* *Taqī*, were appointed as 'Sipālī' or assistants. In both cases the Members were from *Tal* *Taqī*. As the power and authority of the Member might directly clash with that of the Headman, it was advisable that the new locus of power was kept at a distance in *Tal* *Taqī*. We have also noted that many in *Tal* *Taqī* and some in *Upar* *Taqī* also suspected sorcery inflicted by the Headman causing death to the former Member. This happened allegedly because of the latter's popularity and rising prospects of his establishing a rival to the Headman's power. Such motivations might have goaded the Headman to provide for some handy safeguards in nominating assistant (s) faithful to him and under his direct control in *Upar* *Taqī*. That his fears are not ill-founded is now somewhat clear. After the junior Headman's shifting to *Upar* *Taqī*, and as there was nobody from the 'Nālā' lineage in *Tal* *Taqī*, the Member had been managing the day-to-day affairs in the capacity of a junior Headman.

Diviners, Medicinemen and Sorcerers

Ordinary' diviners are known as 'Segudī'. They not only divine but also exorcise disease-spirits or deities. Diviners of higher order, especially dealing with exorcism of sorcery, are 'Rājūlī' or medicineman. The latter can work against sorcery and may also prescribe certain herbal medicines. All the 'Rājūlī' in *Taqī* are 'Chedūlī' or those who may command sorcery but cannot inflict. A 'Rājūlī' also gets possessed by spirits or deities and

may be compared to shamans. Shamanism is very widespread in the region, even the Caste, a Hindu caste, employ shamans on serious cases like difficult labour. Sorcerers are known as 'Pāngal' and sorceresses as 'Pāngi'. Diviners, medicinemen and sorcerers (Borcerasses) learn their trade from 'Guru' or teacher-experts and their specialised education is the nearest approach to formal instruction.

A medicineman enjoys high prestige in the village because of his ability to save lives and cure disease. A diviner is approached for smaller ailments and is the person of first call and has the tendency to function like a "family doctor". There are about 2 medicinemen as against 4 or 5 diviners. It is perhaps not without significance that both the Members of Tājē were either 'Rāuli' or 'Saguli'.

However, sorcery is discredited and considered a crime, but the sorcerers and sorceresses are feared and one dare not anger them for nothing. This potential threat of sorcery becomes a good weapon for maintaining power as in the Headman's case. But in extreme cases of sorcery one might be expelled from the village.

Incipient Stratification

Firth notes: "When a graded system of classes is of general operation in a society, affecting many spheres of social activity, it is termed a system of social stratification. Here, each stratum or layer in the grading scheme is composed of people who fill much the same position in the social structure". (*Human Types*, Part, 105). Obviously, there must be two horizontal layers at the least. We have seen how and to what extent the 'Māṭīlī' section has social precedence, economic advantages, political power and ritual control over the 'Parjī', who are led and guided by the other. The latter's higher social status is always acknowledged by the 'Parjī'. The lowest occupation, that of day labourer, is also resorted to by the 'Parjī' in great numbers and shunned by the 'Māṭīlī' except for the two or three helpless widows. When it comes to carrying something for a visiting official it is the poorer 'Parjī' who are ultimately prevailed upon to do; when setting my house even old 'Parjī' men were working while younger senior priests and the Headmen were just directing most of the time. Coal-tar marriages and funeral (cremation) also fall largely to the 'Māṭīlī'.

All these and other details described above go to show that there is quite sharp break between the 'Māṭīlī' and the 'Parjī', however relative it may appear in day-to-day life. The 'Māṭīlī' section resembles in many ways a landholding aristocracy and the 'Parjī', commoners or second-class citizens. The designations even as analogy must be sharply trimmed to have real meaning in the actual situation. Though the 'Māṭīlī' were descended from the first settlers they do not already claim that all land belongs to them and them alone. On the other hand, they emphasize that every village has right to get land according to his needs for making swiddens, and for other purposes when there is suitable land. Under these circumstances I have defined the land-tenure as "cooperative village ownership". Moreover, both the 'Māṭīlī' and the 'Parjī' must work hard for their subsistence, and there is no "leisure" class. As for the rank of the 'Parjī' (literally, "subjects"), to compare them with commoners is to disregard the fact that in the recent, or back in the remote, past each of these 'Parjī' ancestors belonged to the 'Māṭīlī' section of the ancestral villages. Even today they cherish the memory of their higher social rank in ancestral villages.

Even under such limitations and with free intermarriage between the 'Parjī' and 'Māṭīlī', it appears there is some sort of loose social stratification between the common, powerful, numerous, 'Māṭīlī' section and the 'Parjī' from diverse lineages and villages, an odd assortment of affinal relatives owing individually and collectively the overall loyalty to the 'Māṭīlī'. That is a legitimate right of the 'Māṭīlī' to be the traditional leaders and loci of power in the village is accepted by all parties.

If the image of such a loose nascent stratification does not conform strictly to the classical models of "caste" ("Stand" in German) or "class", that is not of fundamental importance. The more significant point of observation is, that in an apparently "egalitarian" society may lie hidden a strong tendency to formation of something like classes or estates. In whatever rudimentary form it may be, Dr. Elwin has already discovered a clearer formation of social classes among the Hill *saorū*, where the aristocracy prefer their sons to marry within the aristocracy and may accept girls from but never marry their own into, the commoners, named "proletariat" by him (P. 60-62).

Status change in Government Colonies

As all the colonists have come together to an unoccupied area are no 'Misi^{II}' rights in socio-political status. But the 'Misi^{II}' section of the higher-villages retain the posts of Headmen and Priests as usual. Although 'Ghusbandhi^I' ceremony (village Site Foundation day) is still observed one of the main purpose, that is, admission of new 'Parji' and reassurance of loyalty of the old 'Parji' has lost its meaning. But the Puri as a whole have gained some political power over the Cereng^I Kolha and the few Bantik^I colonists. The Puri are in majority, the whole scheme was mainly to bring them down and the visiting officers and permanent officials give more weight to the Puri Shuyell in all affairs of colony life. The Cereng^I Kolha are 'untouchable' and of lower status. At Ghusbandhi^I colony, where they live away from the Shuyell, the domination of the latter is more obvious than in the exclusively Cereng^I colonies with their own headman and priests. At Ghusbandhi^I they are asked to contribute for 'Deob Ust' and perhaps many other festivities of the Puri Shuyell in the name of the village, while the Puri do not contribute anything in their dues. This has been so for three reasons. Firstly, the Cereng^I had come so late one year or more later than the Shuyell of Tasi^I who all came in a group, which is numerically the majority and dominant group, supplying the headman and the priests. Secondly, the Cereng^I had always acknowledged the Shuyell as the Lords of the land and themselves as their 'Parji', rather figuratively, so much so that in the Mahulpad^I valley they would not collect thatch-grass before the Shuyell do, where the incense clash. Thirdly the Puri Shuyell have always worshipped the village deities in the valley village of jagat, Mahulpad^I, Barot, Rengill and Kurnudh, where formerly the Cereng^I Kolha lived. I suspect the Puri Shuyell of Delela^I colony have similar status of dominance over the Cereng^I Kolha of Rati^I Khendi colony. Incidentally, Patnaik has always referred to the Cereng^I Kolha of the colonies as 'Mundhi', as they speak a Mundhi language (GRI, 1957).

Patnaik has rightly pointed to the weakening position of the Headmen and senior priests in the colonies (GRI, 1957, p. 13). But he does not fully explain the situation when he says, "The causes of their inefficiencies in the village are obviously due to contacts with outside people and the gradual breakdown of the village solidarity after wet cultivation has been introduced" (ibid, p. 13).

In the most primitive, ie. simple, villages solidarity is impaired, as in 'wet cultivation' (agriculture) economic interdependence and constant (frequent) need for co-operation are not necessary as they train the cultivation of 'bilengi' (kemiri) or shifting cultivation. (Brackets enclose the terms preferred). Sharing cattle and implement and much co-operative labour are not necessary or possible in the colony as the Government help and the inmates need for reclaiming land by each household for its private exploitation have made a household autonomous and acquisitive to that extent. On the other hand, the older pattern of celebrating village rituals and festivals, communal partnership groups for arranging them, collective hunting expeditions, however few, and the 'bachelor' dormitories on the colony basis and even having the institution of Priests' Granary or 'Dehuria Dhan^I' in Kungtoli^I and Jhinkar Galid^I colonies (from Kuru and Kundi hill-villages) show that the old village solidarity is still much preserved. However, the custom of joint cultivation of a swidden by the youngmen and maidens of a colony for their own common interests, as in hill villages, was preserved till lands were available to make swidden. As the land was reduced into agricultural plots, privately owned, this automatically stopped. In this instance the village or colony solidarity of the young persons suffered heavy economic and social deprivation due to conditions of agriculture. The loss to village solidarity came also from two other sources. Firstly, some colonies Ghusbandhi^I and Bantik^I, are composed of colonists from two or three or even more villages. Moreover, a few colonies like Ghusbandhi^I may be composed of two or more tribes, Puri, Cereng^I and Bantik^I. In this condition colonies present different physical composition from the old exclusive Puri villages. When Puri colonist from a hill village have stayed in an exclusive colony together they have preserved even 'Dehuria Dhan^I', pointing to the solidarity of and surviving allegiance to, the 'Misi^{II}' section of those villages. Secondly, unlike in a hill village the colonists are not bound to pay allegiance to any definite station in the colony for the rights in land and other facilities. All are given equal chances, legally of course, and all owe loyalty directly to the Government, represented by their big visiting officers. There is no solid dominant 'Misi^{II}' section having first rights and no clustering of the 'Parji' round it, and hence the political composition of the old village solidarity will be lacking. While the fiction of this old 'Misi^{II}-Parji' relationship persists, because of a

local transplantation of the village, in that case the village solidarity of the old type appears to hold on in the colony. Thus both the decrease in old village solidarity and the weakening of the position of former Headmen of a Paur village in fact the spokesman and leader of the "Matrial" section, among the colonists may be rather explained in terms of the altered political and economical status derived wholly from outside authority and outside traditional territory, and not merely in terms of settled agriculture and "contacts with outside people" as such. Fundamentally for this reason reinforced by direct and daily contacts with the authority of government officers and officials, visiting or stationed at Dalsukh colony, the old village solidarity and the old position of the Headmen and Priests in the colony will be impaired still more. That my interpretation of the dynamics of this change is basically sound is supported by Patnalkar's following observation in 1960, when shifting cultivation was in full swing at Dalsukh colony: "The position of Nimb (headman) is being lowered and his voice is becoming less and less effective in the management of village affairs." (ORI, 1962, p. 24).

Inter-Community Status and Hinduization

In the Koli valley round Mahulpadh the Gond and Pān unouchables count along with the Pān Bhuyāīl as the earliest settlers. Cāngāl Kolha and later on Kāśīn came before the various Hindu castes and Mundā and Mundā Kolha immigrants. The present Headman of Mahulpadh, whose grandfather came from Sānīn in the north-west, belongs to the oldest Cāpāl cultivator family in this area. The village servant castes, washer-men and cowherds, blacksmiths, oilmen, washermen, Liquor-sellers etc., came to join the driving villages. A Brahman priest coming from a faraway village to serve the Cāpāl, Gaur and Goeq castes. The Gond calling themselves as Pān Gond, are here completely Hinduized and count as a clean Hindu caste employing Brahman priest, washerman and berber, although the washermen do not serve them water in rituals or festivities and water from them is not accepted by higher castes like Cāpāl, Gaur (washermen and cowherd), Berber, Brahman. The berber family at Mahulpadh was brought in 1964 expressly to serve the highest caste people of Mahulpadh region.

The Hill Bhuyāīl, though not yet served by Brahman and only occasionally by a Berber, including washermen at all important rituals and

water is accepted from them by all castes and tribes. In the latter aspect they are in a higher ritual status than the Gond and the Mundā, from whom the higher castes do not take water. The Pān on their part take water only from Cāpāl, washermen and cowherds, and Brahman. However, they will not accept cooked rice from even Brahman, nor to speak of other castes and tribes. As in actual life some adjustment has to be made with the numerous Gond clients in Kumudh and Rengāl and other villages where Pān Bhuyāīl practice worship village deities, they accept rice-cakes fried in oil, but not boiled in an earthen pot, from perhaps the last two castes only in 1964. For the Pān-Bhuyāīl the basketmakers and musicians Ghālī Pān and Cāngāl Kolha are untouchable, as also gamlā blacksmiths who use hallow of cow-hide. In this has they identify themselves with all clean castes. The Pān have left eating beef-cakes while the other unouchables have not yet done so. In the schools at Dalsukh and Dholkāmungā teachers take into consideration the bits of Pān colorets against Cāngāl Kolha ones. The Bengali tribes are not unouchable, though water is not accepted from them by their co-brethren, the Pān Bhuyāīl. The Mundā who have left eating cattle are sitting by side with the Pān Bhuyāīl at Mahulpadh or Dholkā schools.

The Gond and Pān seems and the Kāśīn are at present striving hard to raise their social and ritual status. The Gond demand to get their menstruating women's clothes washed by the washermen, who do this only in case of Cāpāl and Gaur in the locality. But the washermen did not agree to the demand in their caste council. The Pān have now taken to worshipping 'Bisi Dab' a locally popular Hindu goddess, separately on their own and are trying to stop their practice of removing dead cattle from the villages including that of the Pān Bhuyāīl colonists. This function will in all probability be taken over by Ghālī untouchables. Some Kāśīn have gone so far as to engage good Brahman in their marriage ceremonies, and a Gaur man serves water at these ceremonies to the Brahman priest, as he would not accept water from the Kāśīn. It may be foreseen with all probability that the Pān Bhuyāīl in colonies will try to engage Berber and later on even Brahman priest at their marriages, besides accepting cooked rice from the Brahman. The last practice may not come soon, as the Bāthuk

In Koonjhar, since long Hinduized, would not accept such food from any outsider except even in 1890.

Of especial importance is the relation of the Pāuī Bhuyāns with Magadhā Gaur, who often live with the tribe. Marriage with a Gaur man or woman is not rare, and as early as 1895 G.A. Mac Millan had already noted them. At Taipā an old man had married a Gaur woman (in 17 p.) who was socio-culturally accepted into the Pāuī community. At a Bāi celebration similarly a Gaur of Bebamund village in Bone married a Pāuī woman, who was assimilated into the Gaur caste in 1957.

We have already seen how the Pāuī borrow seed and grain sometimes even money from Gaur Bondi, Caste, etc. The old men of Shundi (Kuor solar) and even a Cenang Kohna after coming to the colony some Tāre Bhuyāns had taken loans from Khumjol in the north-west. Their credit-worthiness, not only the area of credit operations, seem to have increased. When they would be able to get loans at 25% interest in the valley, and from the Government granary at Kuthudih, the bitter feeling against money-lenders and their castes might

system of lord-strongman

payment of grains and rations as a fixed rate per cow, bullock or calf. The Pāuī already had such relation with washerman and Gaur in Taipā for some time. Thus, there is great probability that the Pāuī in the colony will be drawn into the "jormāni" system of some services as in the valley.

The Pāuī Bhuyāns are traditional priests of village deities in Rengāl, Kurodhā, Jepāl, Mahupādā, Bebamū and perhaps a few other non-Pāuī villages, and they are considered as the oldest occupants of land and hills (excepting specific case of Taipā, where the Bhuyāns came later on). Also their ritual status in the Hindu eyes is the highest among all the tribal groups in the region. For all these reasons their social status is the highest among all tribes, perhaps exceeding the Hinduized Bondi in Mahupādā region.

However, the Hindus hold the Pāuī in contempt for certain of their practices, also found among some other local tribes. They do not wash with water after defecation. They take sows to plough, which is considered sacrilegious. The institution of dormitories, dancing of women, premarital sexual laxity, gambling and lottery games, d. loss of honour and of person, eating of certain castes and birds including one which takes human right, such taking rotten meat of dead animals, and

both Kulu in some cases as is hard to say. I also add a Pāuī Bhuyān ceremony

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(Note: C. Stands for Ch. in local name)

States of Tribal Communities of Orissa

N. K. Behara

Orissa has a large concentration of tribal population in the country next to Maharashtra and Madhya Pradesh. There are 62 Scheduled Tribes in the State of Orissa, out of the total number of 427 in the Country. They range from very small groups to very large ones. The total tribal population of the State as per 1991 Census is 7,032,214, out of which 84.8 per cent live in rural areas and only 5.2 per cent in urban areas.

The tribes of Orissa are ethno-linguistically classifiable into three categories, namely (i) Austro-Asiatic (Mundari), (ii) Dravidian, and (iii) Indo-Aryan. Tribal communities belonging to the Austro-Asiatic category mainly inhabit North Orissa, excepting Bonda (Gadaba), Bonda, Didayi, Paraja and Saora who inhabit South Orissa. The tribal communities of the Dravidian category are mostly confined to South Orissa, excepting Oraon, who inhabit North Orissa. And the tribal communities of the Indo-Aryan category are scattered all over the State. The important tribal communities of the Austro-Asiatic category in Orissa are Beda (Gadaba), Bihari, Bonda, Bhumija, Didayi, Juang, Manki (Kheria), Munda, Paraja, Santal and Saora. The Dravidian category includes Gond, Xan (Kandha), Koya, Otar (Gadaba) and Oraon. The Indo-Aryan category consists among others Bathudi, Bhuiyan, Bhumija and Saora. Among the tribes of Orissa, the numerically superior ones are Bathudi, Bhuiyan, Bhumija, Gond, Kheria, Kandha, Kisan, Kolha, Munda, Oraon, Paraja, Santal, Saora and Shaber whereas the tribes that are peculiar or special to Orissa are the Didayi, Bathudi, Bonda, Juang, Kotsi and Dongria Kandha.

Tribal communities belonging to Austro-Asiatic and Dravidian language families have their own spoken languages, whereas tribal communities of the Indo-Aryan category speak various regional dialects, which are varieties of

the standard Oriya. Among the Austro-Asiatic tribal communities nine different languages are spoken, namely Saora (Saora), Gorum (Paraja), Guteb (Gadaba), Remo (Bonda) Kheria (Kheria/Mundia), Juang (Juang), Santal (Santali) Mundari (Munda/Bhumija) and Ho (Ho/Kol). Among the tribal communities of the Dravidian language family eight different oral languages are spoken, viz. Konda (Kondapatti), Koya (Koya), Ku (Phulbeni Kondha), Kudi (Koraput Kandha), Madia (Madia), Oitar (Oitar Gadaba), Parji (Parji) and Pango (Pango Paraja). Various regional dialects spoken by the Indo-Aryan category of tribal communities include—Odia, Jharia, Munda, Bihari, Halbi, Bhuiya (all these are spoken in Southern Orissa), Bathudi, Bhuiyan, Kurnali, Saora (all three are spoken in Northern Orissa), Sedi, Lora, Bhuiya, Agharia, Birhia and Banjara (all three are spoken in Western Orissa).

Some of the major tribal communities of Orissa particularly the Santal, Ho, Saora and Kondha have devised scripts for their respective languages. And now they have started producing literature in their respective languages. In this venture Santals are ahead of others. During the past few decades, with the advancement of literacy and education, members of Sora, Munda, Ho, Saora, Kondha and Kisan tribal communities have been trying to steer new cultural identities for their respective communities through politico-cultural "Rank-Path".

A majority of the tribal communities of the State inhabit the Eastern Ghat hill range which runs across the State from South to North. Tribal communities are distributed in almost all the districts including those in the coastal belt. Didayi, Bonda, Gadaba and Koya in Southern Orissa and Juang in Northern Orissa live in compact areas, while Saora, Kandha, Gond, Bhumija, Santal and Munda have a wide distribution.

Sections of Gadaia, Maria, Saora, Kondha, Shyam, Jating, Bathudi and Bhumiya have embraced Hinduism for a long time now. They propagate a number of Hindu Gods and Goddesses and observe some Hindu fairs and festivals. Similarly sections of Munda, Oraon, Santal, Kisan, Saora and Kondha have been converted to Christianity. But all those who have either taken to Hinduism or Christianity have got completely eschewed their tribal heritage. They continue to profess Animists and facts of tribal culture. Rest other tribal people are Animists and retain their respective languages and tribe worldview. However, during past few decades the general tendency of all tribal people has been to gradually retain their respective ethnic identities for political economic gains. This is the outcome of the process of political modernisation which is going on during the past four decades. Educated members of Santal, Munda, Oraon and Ho communities have chosen political rank-path in order to remove hegemony of non-tribals from their societies. However, notwithstanding the current processes of acculturation tribes communities of Orissa can be classified into the following six categories:

- (i) Hunter-Gatherers-nomads living in hilly and forest areas and are some what isolated
- (ii) Hunter-Gatherer-pastoralists and shifting cultivators living in hilly and forest areas
- (iii) Simple artisans living in hilly and forest areas
- (iv) Hunter-Gatherer shifting cultivators living in hilly and forest areas and somewhat isolated
- (v) Settled agriculturists, peaching-economically somewhat on par with their neighbouring peasant communities and
- (vi) The industrial and urban unskilled and semi skilled workers

The only tribe of the first category in Orissa is the Macku/Mankirda or Birhor. Members of this tribe are well known for their traditions, practice of monkey-catching. Apart from depending upon hunting and gathering for subsistence, they also earn part of their livelihood from cape-making out of wild fibres. These tribal communities are mostly found in Mayurbhanj, Keonjhar and Sundergarh districts. They

live in isolated small bands or groups. With their primitive technology, limited skill and unflinching commitment to custom and ritual observance, they lead a simple life in the forest. Their world-view is bound to the eco-system of these forest habitat. The population of Mankirda or Birhor in Orissa though is small, yet the type of impact its members exert on the ever-depleting forest resources is quite conspicuous.

The Koya inhabit the Malkangiri district. They are the only pastoral and cattle-breeding tribal community in Orissa. The main prop of the economy of the Koya is the practice of shifting cultivation coupled with cattle-breeding. In the past, when their habitat was secure, they used to supplement their livelihood by hunting and gathering of various food materials from the forest. Large scale deforestation in the Koya territory has taken place for the resettlement of refugees from Bangladesh. Traditional economy of the Koyas has enormously been affected.

In Orissa Maha, Juang (Hinduised section only), and Kol-Lohars are the simple artisan tribes communities. The Maha and Juangs practise basketry and the Kol-Lohars are blacksmiths by profession. Maha and Juangs are now confronted with the problem of scarcity of raw materials, and therefore they are hand-pressed. Similarly the Kol-Lohars, with their primitive technology, are not able to compete with machine made agricultural implements in the market. These artisan tribal communities are getting more and more impoverished.

The tribes whose economy revolves around the practice of shifting cultivation in addition to hunting and gathering are many in Orissa. In Northern Orissa the Jating, Pauli, Bhuiyan, Hill Kharis and in Southern Orissa the Xandhar, Saora, Pasianga, Didayi, Dharas, Bonda and Koya practise shifting cultivation as their main economic pursuit. They invariably supplement their shifting cultivation economy by food gathering and hunting as production of shifting cultivation plots is low, shifting cultivation is essentially a regulated sequence of procedure designed to open up and bring under cultivation patches of forest lands, usually hill slopes.

In shifting cultivation the practitioners follow a pattern of cycle of activities which are as follows: (i) Selection of a patch of hill slope or forest land by the leadership of

the village, and distribution or allotment of the same to the intended practitioners; (ii) cutting of trees and clearing of the existing vegetation from the land before summer months after observance of necessary religious ritual; (iii) piling up of withered logs, bushes and ferns on the land by women and children, and setting fire to them at an appropriate time; (iv) further clearing of the plot of land by both men and women and spreading of the ash before the onset of monsoon rains; (v) hoing and sowing of seeds with regular commencement of monsoon rains by both men and women; (vi) crude bending and weeding activities follow after sprouting of seeds; (vii) watching and protecting the plants and crop till harvest through day and night; (viii) harvesting and collecting crops; (ix) threshing and storing of corns and grains and (x) observance of the closing ritual is accompanied by merry-making.

In the entire operational process all the members of the family are involved in some way or the other. Work is distributed among the members of the family. However the head of the family assumes all the responsibilities in the practice and operation of shifting cultivation.

Shifting cultivation is not a monetary payment for those who practice it accounts for their total way of life. Theirs is a spiritual, economic, political organisation to the practice of shifting cultivation.

However, shifting cultivation is a practice. It causes deep erosion, soil erosion and degradation of land. By deforestation soil loses its water retention capacity. The sub-soil gets washed away and the underlying rocks and boulders are gradually exposed. Slowly and steadily the streams down, the hills dry up. Heavy rains during the rains pour into the river basins, plains and valleys. Extensive deforestation influences the rainfall, and consequently, the life of the animals and forest resources are also affected. It also generates nomadic habits among the practitioners.

In the past, land in the tribal areas of Odisha had not been surveyed and settled in the name of occupants. Therefore, tribal people wielded their traditional rights over the lands they occupied and freely practised shifting cultivation on forest-clad hill slopes.

There were two traditional systems of land tenure prevalent among the tribes of Odisha. Among the tribes of northern Odisha land, forest and other resources were communally owned, and thus the annual distribution of plots on the hill slopes for the practice of shifting cultivation were being done in a corporate manner. While as among the tribes of southern Odisha all such lands and other natural resources were under the control of the village (tribal) headmen, who do a dual approach and in fact rule to the intending practitioners. And since the emergence of the new forest policy in 1952, 1978 and 1988 and completion of survey and settlement of land in tribal areas, the traditional land tenure system has dwindled. The tribal people are now left with limited amount of land in their respective habitats for the practice of shifting cultivation.

Previously in the past the reproductive cycle of shifting cultivation plots used to be 12 to 16 years but now it has been reduced to 3 to 8 years. Thus, the productivity of the land gets progressively reduced. The practitioners of shifting cultivation are economically very much herd oriented now. In Odisha an area of 1,66,842 sq km is under the practice of shifting cultivation. Its population of 2,62,72,054 is dependent on it (1981 Census).

In south Odisha, particularly in the habitats of Birabara, Bouda and Jharsuguda hill communities terraces have been constructed along hill slopes for the practice of wet cultivation. This is known as terraced culture. In the hill areas, hill slopes are fully available water of hill streams are tapped for cultivation throughout the year as water flows from one terrace to another in downward fashion. The terrace walls are riveted and naked with stones. In such a way that soil erosion to a large extent in these terraces is checked and millets are grown.

In Odisha the category of settled agricultural tribes are Jhukha Santhal, Mundha Ho, Oraon, Gond, Deo, Kandha, Savara, Kisan, Bhumia, Beldha and Gadaba. They also depend on forest wherever possible, in varying proportions, for gathering and hunting. Tribal agriculture in Odisha is characterised by unproductive and unscientific holdings, land is scarce, lack of irrigation facilities in the undulating terrain of the tribal habitat, chronic indebtedness, lack of easy or soft credit facilities and use of traditional skill and primitive implements. In general they raise only one crop during monsoon season, and

therefore have to supplement their economy by subsidiary economic activities, such as, seasonal migration to other places for wage earning. The impact agricultural modernisation on them is quite negligible.

A sizable agglomeration of tribal population in Orissa has resorted to mining, industrial and urban jobs for earning a regular living as wage labour. Migration is almost a continuous process. Persons and whole families move either temporarily or permanently to mining locations, industrial sites and urban centres for wage earning. During the past three decades the process of industrialisation in the tribal belt of Orissa has been accelerated through the creation of mines and establishment of industries. Mostly persons and families from relatively advanced tribal communities, such as, Santal, Mundas, Ho, Oraon, Bond, Kisan, Beaver and Kondh have taken to the economic pursuits in order to overcome their abject indigence.

In some cases industrialisation and mining operations in Orissa have led to uprooting of tribal villages, and the displaced have become industrial nomads. They lost their home, hearth and irretrievable roots. Thus, they have become unemployed and have been subject to unhealthy competition in the uncertain labour market. However as a result of their exposure to urban culture the level of their aspiration in most cases has escalated, although they have no ability to fulfil their mounting aspirations. Thus, the need is in appreciation, the process of tribal development has to take positive measures for the marginal tribal population. A package of development need be devised to help the process of migration of tribal people to urban and industrial areas from their native villages. In the capitalistic atmosphere of urban culture tribal people are losing self-confidence. Normally the personality of a tribal person is endowed with an overpowering sense of realism and pragmatism.

PLANNED DEVELOPMENT AND THE TRIBES OF ORISSA

The proportion of tribal population to the total population of the State is nearly 22.22 per cent, which is much above the national average of 7.76 per cent. Nearly 39.91 lakh tribal people inhabit an area of about 43.83 per cent of the total land surface of the State, specially declared as Scheduled Area and 5.28 lakh tribal people reside in MADA, Cluster and Micro Project Areas. The rest of 14.08 lakh tribal people are dispersed in other areas of the State.

In terms of the concentration of tribal population the districts of Mayurbhanj (57.67 per cent), Jharsuguda (56.22 per cent), and Sundargarh (51.28 per cent) have more than 50 per cent each, whereas Keonjhar (44.82 per cent), Phulbani (39.94 per cent) and undivided Kalahandi (31.28 per cent) have more than 30 per cent each. In the remaining districts the proportion of tribal population is less than 20 per cent of the total population.

Constitution of India makes comprehensive provision for the Socio-Economic Development of Scheduled Tribes and for prevention of their exploitation by other groups of the society. Article 48 of the Constitution requires the State (both Central and State Government) to promote with special care the education and economic interests of the weaker sections and in particular, of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, and to protect them from social injustice and all forms of exploitation.

Up to the end of Fourth Five-year Plan period development of Scheduled Tribes was accepted as the general goal, and programme was implemented through Community Development Blocks, Special Multipurpose Blocks, and Tribal Development Blocks. No special separate plan was made to the formulation of Schemes, keeping in view the needs of these communities and their respective core culture. A detailed and comprehensive review of the problems of different tribal communities was taken up on the eve of the Fifth Five-year Plan period, and as a result the concept of 'Tribe Sub-plan' was evolved. The Sub-plan approach has been in operation since the beginning of the Fifth Five-year Plan period. The main objectives of the TSP are to help to develop the tribal communities in their habitats and to protect them against exploitation.

Within the area of Tribal Sub-plan integrated Tribal Development Projects or Agencies (ITDAs) were set up as nodal agencies to prepare plans for development to implement Projects, to co-ordinate factors' activities and monitor the progress of works. In Orissa 21 ITDAs have been set up covering 118 blocks over an area of 66,516.68 sq. km., and a Scheduled Tribe population of more than 33.70 lakh. The ITDAs are (1) Bargarh, (2) Deogarh, (3) Jharsuguda, (4) Cuttack, (5) Ganjam, (6) Jajpur, (7) Keonjhar, (8) Kandhamal, (9) Jharsuguda, (10) Keonjhar, (11) Kutchendia, (12) Malkangiri, (13) Nayagarh, (14) Nayagarh, (15) Parghosh, (16) Pochampally, (17) Phulbani, (18) Rayangpur, (19) Rayagada (20) Sundargarh, and (21) Thumal-Rampur.

Towards the end of the Fifth Plan period, Modified Area Development Approach (MADA) was adopted to cover smaller areas of concentration of tribal population. Thus areas, having 10,000 or more population of which 60 per cent or more were tribes were earmarked as MADA pockets. In Orissa there are now 45 MADA pockets in operation covering 47 Blocks and a Scheduled Tribe population of more than 4,86,168. During the Fifth Five-Year Plan period too, a decision was taken to treat the primitive tribal communities as special categories for whom specific core programmes were to be formulated and implemented for their all-round development. In Orissa 12 such groups have been identified, namely (1) Bihari, (2) Bonda, (3) Didiya, (4) Dongria Kandha, (5) Jangar, (6) Khami, (7) Kotic Kondh, (8) Lanja Saora, (9) Lodha, (10) Maskidia, (11) Puri Bhuyan and (12) Saora. There are altogether 15 Micro Projects in operation in Orissa. Among the Puri Bhuyan there are two and for the Lanja Saora there are three Micro Projects. These tribal communities have been identified as primitive on the basis of the criteria of their pre-agricultural economy, low level of literacy and susceptibility as well as isolated habitats. These 15 Micro Projects cover a Scheduled Tribe population of 42,454. And during the middle of the Seventh Five-Year Plan period (1985-86) small units of 500 concentration called clusters were identified. A cluster is a group of contiguous villages having a population of 5,000 or more, and 60 per cent of which must be tribes. In Orissa there are 13 clusters covering 263 villages and a Scheduled Tribe population of 44,548.

In the Tribal Sub-Plan for the Eighth Plan ('82-87) document it has been mentioned that 45 out of 48 Scheduled Tribe population have been covered under TTDA, MADA, Cluster and Micro Projects (1981: 1). The rest of 14,081 tribal population are dispersed in other areas of the State and are not covered under Special Tribal Development Programmes (1981 Census figures).

The adoption of TSP strategy has resulted in the growth of administrative machinery in tribal areas starting from the State level to Project areas. Protective laws enacted by Central and State Governments to check exploitation of tribals by unscrupulous non-tribals are in force. Nevertheless, unscrupulous money-lenders and private traders are operating unhindered. Collection centres of Tribal

Development Co-operative Corporation have been set up in tribal villages for purchase of agricultural and minor forest produce from tribal people in order to ensure remunerative prices to them and protect them against exploitation. TDCC does not fulfil these objectives, because it is a part of the State administrative machinery. Collection and trading of certain items of forest produce such as *Saj* seeds and *Motia* flowers have been nations issued, which the tribal people cannot be to non-Government agencies. This sort of State monopoly hampers the interest of tribe people.

SECTORAL PROGRAMMES

Agriculture

It is the mainstay in the economy and livelihood of the tribal communities as 82.38 per cent of the total tribal workers are engaged in cultivation and 36.2 per cent work as agricultural labourers. They consider it more stable, independent and regular than the *sal* system.¹

Productivity of tribal land is very low because of various factors. Tribal cultivator still clings to the traditional practices and is still dependent on irregular monsoon, irrigation facility, system of input supply, provision of timely institutional credit, training in improved dry land farming, demonstration of multiple cropping pattern and dissemination of knowledge in crop diversification are yet to develop adequately in tribal areas. The tribal farmer has neither been properly motivated nor educated to adopt improved technology to increase agricultural production. Moreover, the present level of field demonstration is inadequate in tribal areas as a Village Agricultural Worker (VAW) has to cover 810 villages having 800 cultivating families. Sale outlets of seeds, fertilizers and pesticides are not sufficient in tribal areas. The district level Adaptive Research Stations are supposed to evolve appropriate agronomic practices for different eco-climatic areas. But in reality such institutions have not contributed to the development of agriculture among the tribal people.

Soil Conservation

Soil erosion is an acute problem in the tribal habitat, because of rapid deforestation in the sloppy uplands top soil is washed away during monsoon for want of any conservation measures. Gully erosion is widespread on treeless sloppy lands. Conservation measures

are not adequate to protect cultivable land being washed away by the run-off water causing river net. The tribal is blamed for this, because he practices shifting cultivation on hill slopes. But he has no alternative source of livelihood hence he practices it.

Soil conservation measures constitute a package which includes tree plantation, land development, water harvesting structure, soil conservation structure, vegetative stabilisation, building of multi-layer canopy, agroforestry cropping, rehabilitation of degraded forest and construction of diversion channels. Tribal people will be the major sufferers of the menace of soil erosion if soil conservation measures are not reinforced within thrust possible time.

Horticulture

The agriculture, horticulture too belongs to the core sector of tribal economy. Tribal people in general are good horticulturists, and their love for and knowledge of trees is remarkable. Fruit-bearing trees occupy a special place in the life and culture of tribal people. Horticulture is popular among the Sanas and Dongria Kandhas. Other tribal communities of course depend on fruit bearing trees as a tentative food items, such as, mango, jackfruit, pears, berries, etc. With the plantation of fruit bearing trees in areas where shifting cultivation is practised, more remunerative land use can be ensured, which will hold the prospect of improving the economic condition of tribal people.

Plant nurseries and fruit orchards be established in tribal areas in an extensive manner so as to attract tribal people towards horticulture. And they be persuaded and encouraged to take up plantation of short stem fruits like banana and pineapple in compact patches. Cane plantation is quite rewarding, and tribal people be encouraged to take up this on Poda revised policies. And simultaneously fair price shops be opened in tribal areas extensively for purchase of tribal agricultural and horticultural products. But wherever such shops are there, they do not function effectively and thus exploitation continues.

Problem of Land

Land and forest constitute the resource base of tribal people. Usurpation of the land of tribal people is a major problem. Hence the urgent necessity of preparation of correct record-of-rights and updating them rests with the

State Government. In the absence of correct land records, which confer both title and possession, the tribal people face difficulties in availing credit facilities from Indian banks and as a result, individual may renders utility the Land Revenue Courts and Civil Courts also find it difficult to uphold the rights of the tribal people in the absence of up-to-date records.

Co-operation

Co-operative Institutions are expected to play a significant role in the socio-economic development of tribal people. Their expansion in the field of credit as well as marketing can be checked if co-operative institutions function as per their objectives. They continue to be exploited in the sale of their surplus agricultural and minor forest produce. They are by and large ignorant of the cumbersome procedure of co-operative institutions.

Procedural training programmes be conducted among the tribal people so as to attract them in a big way towards co-operative institutions. Besides, forest labour contract co-operative societies be organised in potential areas to save the forest labourers from exploitation.

Forest and Development of Tribes

Forest plays an important role in the life of tribal people. It caters to their basic needs by providing food, water, fibres, fodder, timber and suitable minor forest produce. The life and culture of the tribal people are closely linked with the forest.

The economy of several tribal communities, particularly those of the primitive groups, revolves around forest and forest produce. Minor forest produce constitutes 15 to 80 per cent of the income of several tribal families. Therefore, forestry programmes will have to be designed in accordance with the socio-economic fabric of the tribal communities. The linkage between development of forest and development of tribes be strengthen notwithstanding the loss of 8017 sq. kms of forest between 1983 and 1987, because the tribal people alone cannot be held responsible for this ravage.

The evolving national forest policy has steadily eroded the traditional rights of tribal people on forest from 1952 onwards. Their rights have been converted into certain concessions. Tribal people cannot be alienated from forest.

Animal resources and the tribes

Traditionally animal husbandry has been an important secondary source of livelihood of tribal people. Keeping of mitch and draught cattle, as well as smaller animals and birds have been an inseparable aspect of tribal life. Tribal people domesticate goats, pigs, poultry apart from cattle.

Appropriate low cost livestock be provided to the tribal people for raising the level of their income. These should be assisted keeping in view the socio-economic condition of the intended beneficiaries. Extensive training programmes in animal husbandry be conducted for tribal beneficiaries. Dairy and poultry co-operative be organised for the benefit of landless tribal people. Arrangement for regular marketing of milk and poultry be made and timely availability of veterinary services be ensured. In tribal areas animal health care services are inadequate. In the TSP area there are 127 Veterinary Hospitals and Dispensaries to look after 65 lakh bovine population. This is utterly inadequate.

Health and Family Welfare

The objective of Health Policy of the country is to provide health care consisting of preventive, promotive and curative services to all sections of the society. All these services are relatively poor in tribal areas. In pursuance of the National Health Policy it is proposed to establish one P.H.C. for every 20,000 population and one Sub-Centre for every 3000 population in tribal areas. At the moment health care services are utterly inadequate. Therefore, primarily for this reason tribal people continue to depend on their traditional practices. Their shamans or medicine men dominate - herbal medicines and alongside perform magico-religious rites whereby the victim is forced to make improvident expenditure.

Drinking Water-Supply

The problem of providing safe drinking water to tribal areas is acute because the sub-soil water level is very low. Out of 19,204 villages in the TSP area, the State Government have identified 12,148 villages as drinking water problem villages. A State Government document states

that by the end of Seventh Plan Period 18,014 villages have been covered, and the rest 1134 villages would be attended to during the Eighth Plan Period. However the empirical situation is indeed different.

Road communication

Tribal areas are deficient in road communication. Villages in tribal areas are scattered and dispersed and do not have proper road communication system. Unless a proper network of roads in the far flung tribal areas is developed the tribal people and tribal areas will continue to be neglected. The geographic condition of the tribal areas in the State demands construction of a large number of small bridges and crest drainage works to make the communication all-weather. Improvement of the system of communication is a necessary precondition for socio-economic and educational development.

Human resources development and Education

Education and human resource development is a key factor for sustainable development of tribal people.

Due to geo-historical reasons the tribal people of the State of Orissa were generally in a State of educational and economic backwardness. There are 62 Scheduled tribes who speak as many as 74 languages/dialects.

Education is a basic input of development which generates awareness and consciousness. It sets a person apart in the phenomena around him. Scheduled tribes are educationally backward than others. There are many hindrances in the promotion of education among them. Primary sending of children to schools entails economic loss and dislocation in the day-to-day activities of the family. During the agricultural season boys work in the fields with their parents and girls help in watching the younger children. There are other constraints too, such as, teacher-pupil communication barrier, medium of instruction in pre-primary stages, curriculum, school timing, location of schools, indigence of the family, parents' attitude etc.

From the available literacy figures it is evident that Scheduled Tribes are educationally backward. But literacy is not education.

PERCENTAGE OF LITERACY IN ORISSA

Decade Year	State Average			Scheduled Tribes			Total
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female		
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	
1961	34.2	6.8	21.66	13.00	1.8	7.36	
1971	36.3	13.09	28.02	18.4	2.8	9.5	
1981	47.10	21.12	34.75	23.27	4.70	13.86	
1991	52.37	34.40	46.65				

However literacy is an essential aspect of human dignity. Education is acquired with acquisition of systematic knowledge, insight and moral development through instruction. It leads to improvement of facilities and broadening of vision.

The State Government have established different types of schools for tribal students. An idea can be made about them from the following table.—

LIST OF SCHOOLS FOR TRIBAL STUDENTS

Sl No.	Type of Schools	Within Sub-Plan Area		Outside Sub-Plan Area		Total Number of Schools
		(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	
1	Sevashrams	--	689	342		1032
2	Residential Sevashrams		54	40		94
3.	Ashram Schools—					
	(a) Boys	--	48	25		73
	(b) Girls	--	20	9		29
4.	High Schools	--	89	40		129
	(a) Boys	--	21	8		37

There are 1,032 Sevashrams which are non-resident at Primary Schools and there are 94 residential Sevashrams Primary Schools. All Ashram schools are Residential Middle Schools. There are 70 such Schools for the boys and 29 for girls. The total number of High Schools both part and senior is 129 and out of this 129 are meant for boys and 37 for girls. These High Schools have residential facilities both for boys and girls. Besides there are hostels at the State capital for S. T. and S. C. students. Facilities like award of Pre-Matric and Post-Matric Scholarships, supply of free stationery like text books, reading and writing materials, beds, utensils, garments and special coaching are available to the S. T. students.

Although such provisions attract a large number of tribal boys and girls, there has been simultaneously a large number of drop-outs from Schools, particularly at the Pre-Primary and Primary levels. Poverty is the major factor of drop-outs. There are other factors, which include lack of parents' awareness, inadequacy of hostel facility, non-availability of right type of teachers, delay in payment of stipend and lack of communication facilities. Residential Sevashrams will serve to reduce the magnitude of drop-outs at the Pre-Primary and Primary levels. In the State only 8 per cent Sevashrams are residential.

A. that schools impart general education, which enables the educatees to be eligible for clerical and such other jobs. There is no effort to improve the quality of human material. There should be planned effort for development of human resources.

Conclusion

Tribal Development activities are being carried out in an impersonal bureaucratic manner. No individual attention is being paid to the weakest among the weak. Similarly, an attempt is made to overcome individual deficiencies. Establishment of a socialist pattern of society though is the goal of the nation the development process creates class system among the ethnically homogeneous people. The twenty-ninth Report of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes points out this dualistic system which is getting established in the country. It states that "The modern organised sector comprises the upper segment of this system while the traditional unorganised sector comprises the lower segment consequently even among the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, two different segments are getting established exactly in the same fashion" (*890c1).

Mahadev also corroborates this point of view. He states that tribal leaders working with self interest create cleavages in their own community (1977:7). He further states that "The resources which are flowing for the economic benefit, it is often complained, are cornered in several devious ways by their own 'brother' belonging

either to the profession or even their own elected representatives" (ibid).

The educated tribal elites in most cases have become "marginal men" in their own societies. They do not hesitate to exploit even their own brethren. The unlettered, ignorant and semi-literate tribemen still finds himself in the immensity of darkness and scourge of poverty.

SUGGESTIONS

1. There should be long term perspective planning, on the basis of population projection, to remove indigence and make provision of the basic needs in order to ensure a minimum standard of life.

2. The problem of preparation of record of rights of the lands of tribal people be taken up on priority basis by a committee consisting of bureaucrats, lawyers and socio-scientists.

3. Tribal traditional rights over common property resources be restored. Their entitlements must not be ignored. If this is ignored sustainable development cannot be ensured.

4. All Sevenhams (Primary Schools) be converted to residential type to prevent rampant drop-outs.

5. Law may be enacted to eliminate the well-off tribal people from the provision of constitutional safeguards, so that justice can be done to the deserving ones amongst them.

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A Study of the Process of Change in the life of the Primitive Tribes in Mayurbhanj, Orissa

Rajpalam Rath

Mayurbhanj is a predominantly tribal district and is inhabited by almost all the major tribes of Orissa. As per 1981 Census the Tribal population of the district is 901 lakh, which is 68% of the total population of the district. As such the district accounts for the highest concentration of tribes in the State of Orissa followed by Ganjam (65%) and Sundergarh (61%). 53 different tribes are found in this district, the major among them being the Santals, Kols, Hos, Bhuiyans, Baulhugs and the Gonds. Each of these 53 tribes have their own distinctive style, cultural heritage as well as separate dialects.

The large number of hills and dense forests located at the centre of Mayurbhanj district, stretching over a vast area of nearly one thousand five hundred square miles, constitute the Simlipal hill range. Out of the geographical area of 26.76 lakh acres of the district, an area of about 6 lakh acres is under forest. Only about 10 lakh acres are cultivable land the rest of the land being unsuitable for agriculture. Although there are some activities on such sectors like mining and quarry, industries and services, yet the economy is based predominantly on agriculture and forest produce. About 85% of the people of the district depend upon agriculture as their main occupation, yet it is ironical that most of the people of the district are landless and work as labourers. About half the people earn their livelihood as daily wage-earners. Out of this population of nearly 8 lakh who work as labourers, 5 lakh belong to the Scheduled Tribes. More than half such working force are tribal women numbering about 3 lakh.

The Hill Kharias and the Mandisias, who are the object of our study are two of the early settlers of Mayurbhanj district. At present they live and around the Simlipal hill range of the district. The entire population of the Kharias,

in Mayurbhanj amounts to 14,905 (1981 Census). They are primitive in all respects. Their socio-economic condition is far below the poverty line. The Hill Kharias is one of the sub-sections of the Kharia tribe. The Hill Kharias are semi-nomadic and live inside the Simlipal hills. The Hill Kharia settlements are generally situated on hill-slopes, high-edges or in ugly clearings. Since they are primarily food gatherers and hunters, the Simlipal hill surroundings provide the right abode for them. They earn their livelihood from minor forest produce like roots and tubers, honey, mushrooms, resins, gum, timber, cocoons etc. Often they move into deeper forests for three to four days a week, stay in leafy huts, collect as much as they can and return to their settlements to eat what they have collected during the rest of the week.

However, many of them also move to other parts of the district in search of livelihood. Therefore, some of them are found intermixed with local peasant communities in certain parts of the district. Their association with the general population has created an interest in them to take up agriculture and Animal Husbandry. Being largely landless, semi-cultivars, unskilled and illiterate, most of the Hill Kharia population primarily depend upon wage labour as agricultural labourers. But the other section of Hill Kharias who have stayed on in their original forest habitat have remained primitive, backward and conservative. This significant difference between both these sections has brought about social, cultural and economic dichotomy of the Hill Kharias of Simlipal hills and the less primitive Hill Kharias living elsewhere in Mayurbhanj (Report on Hill Kharia) and Mandisias Development Agency (Duduguda (Mayurbhanj) 1988 90 : Pg. 8)

According to the 1991 Census the Mankirdia population in the whole of Odisha is 1,207 and only 379 in the district of Mayurbhanj (Tribes of Odisha H T W Department, Government of Odisha 5). They are nomadic and fall into the category of hunting and food-gathering group of Scheduled Tribes. Their economic activity consists of trade relations and exchange transactions with local peasants. Instead of being settled up in a particular place permanently, they live in and around the Simlipal Hills. They reside at a place temporarily in 'leaf-huts' and wander from place to place within a circumscribed area in search of food and collection of minor forest produce. These Mankirdias are analogous to the Bihors of Bihar. The reason why the Bihors are called Mankirdia is that they love eating monkey's meat and are also experts in catching monkeys. In British India they were accused of Cannibalism. The belief persisted that the Mankirdias who were often upon a time cannibals would lendly feed upon the flesh of a dying man and therefore would assemble in the house at the time of the death of a fellowman. But over a period of time cannibalism has given way to eating other animals, particularly monkeys.

The Mankirdias are an aboriginal group originating from the same Koliyan source as their more developed brothers like the Mundas, Santals, Hoa and Bhuians. They have migrated from the Chhota Nagpur plateau area of Bihar since long and have adopted the cultural traditions of the local tribal groups while maintaining many of their original characteristics. They speak a dialect of their own, which is an admixture of Mundari and Santali words. Now some of them have started understanding and speaking Odia due to intermittent contact with the local populace.

The Mankirdias are dark-skinned, short-statured, long headed, wavy haired and bear round a appearance. They move from place to place in different groups of 10 to 15. These wandering bands are called 'Tandas'. They shift their 'Tandas' or settlements in search of livelihood in new areas according to their nomadic way of life. Each family constructs a leaf-hut called 'Kumbha'. They set up their settlements in clearings, inside dense forests where 'Sis' or creepers, animals particularly monkeys and forest produce are available. The 'Kumbhas' are scattered roughly in a circular path leaving an open space in

the middle to conduct dances, community activities and do y routine work. The Kumbha or the leaf hut is a dome-shaped hut made of *Bal* leaves (*Shorea Robusta*) roughly 5-7 feet in diameter. The entrance to the hut consists of a rectangular fibred opening about 3' x 2' in size and is closed with a dischargeable leaf door at night. The leaf-hut is an well-built that not a drop of water soaks into the hut even during the heaviest downpour. The Mankirdias cook, eat and sleep inside these Kumbhas. Even their pet dog, pig and fowl live with them in the same hut. The Mankirdias have simple household articles made of mud. Mud vessels are used for storing water and also for cooking. They also possess a knife or some sharp implement for digging the earth. They sleep on locally made mats and being very handy and tough, do not supplement their beddings even in the bitterest of winter.

They are experts in rope-making out of *Steli* (Lana Baya) fibres and weave mats out of date-plate leafs, which they use for sleeping. The sis ropes are made into nets for catching game, especially monkeys. The sis ropes and nets are very important for them, for they use by trapping and hunting. Due to their expertise in catching monkeys they are often upon and employed by local people to catch monkeys when they cross hedges in their areas. Their women are robust, well-built and hardworking. They are the true companions to the men in the life of inter-herdship. Like their other tribal counterparts they even earn for their family besides looking after the home and hearth.

Identification of primitive Tribes

Out of the population of 410 such Scheduled Tribes in the country different tribes are at different stages of development. The Chenchus, Juangs, Kadar, Kurumba, Andamanese, Bihors, etc., are the notable food-gathering tribes of India. These tribes subsist by hunting and catching animals and by collecting fruits and roots from the forests. With the earth they totally depend on nature. The most backward among them have received the attention of various study teams. The Odegar Commission (1961) appointed by the Government of India, identified the tribes to be in four different stages of development. At the base level, the Commission identified a stage of tribes at an extremely undeveloped stage. They left

that this lowest layer needed the utmost consideration. Hence they recommended that these sections should be made the special concern of the respective State Governments. Moreover the Chief Executive Officers concerned with the implementation of the policies for protection and development of these tribes should be instructed with special responsibility.

Another study team on Tribal Development Programmes known as the Shikar Team (1968), reiterated the view of the Dharavi Commission that this lowest layer needed utmost consideration. They suggested to the Government to separate those who had benefited from the development programmes of the Government and identify the really backward communities for special attention (Report of the Working Group on Tribal Development during the Sixth Plan 1980-85 October, 1980, Government of India Ministry of Home Affairs, New Delhi). Consequently detailed guidelines were issued for identification of primitive tribal groups. The guidelines later on, stressed that these groups have to be distinguished from impoverished groups and that a 'primitive' group need not necessarily be poor. In the identification of primitive groups, States have generally followed three norms which are—

- (i) Pre-agricultural level of technology
- (ii) Low level of literacy and
- (iii) Steepness or dwelling population

Each family is considered as a distinct unit for the programme. On these guidelines 62 Communities, has been identified as primitive till the end of 1979-80 in the whole of India and 9 in Orissa. Later on few more tribes were added to the list of primitive tribes. In Orissa 12 tribal groups have been identified as primitive. They are: (1) Bonda, (2) Saora, (3) Kharis, (4) Mankurde, (5) Kutia Kondh, (6) Paudi Bhuiya, (7) Juang, (8) Lanjia Saora, (9) Dongria Kandha, (10) Didayi, (11) Lodha, (12) Bihor.

Going by the standards set by the various Commissions and Study teams the Mankurde and Kharis fall into the group of 'Primitive Tribes' and therefore deserve special attention for development. As we have discussed earlier their total population in the district of Mayurbhanj is 14,985 (Kharis) and 378 (Mankurde) as per 1981 Census. These two primitive tribes not only lead a primitive way of life but also

remain a semi-nomadic existence. They subsist by hunting and food gathering. Literacy is at a very low level of 3.09 percent (Mankurde, mass poverty, incommunicable habitat and the use of simple and rudimentary tools are the characteristics of both the tribes. Their natural habitat is in hospitable and incapable of supporting the minimum level of human existence. Depletion of forest resources due to extensive deforestation as well as new regulations against hunting and gathering forest produce inside the protected forest areas have put hurdles in the lives of these tribal people. Similipal forest area, the natural abode of the Kharis and Mankurde has been declared as a 'National Park' and a 'Reserved area'. The ambitious Tigris Project is also under operation in this area. Under these circumstances the Kharis and Mankurde are sick, starving and find little or no scope to carry out their traditional economic activities. There are also a large number of other problems like dire poverty, high literacy, unemployment and under development, malnutrition and a health stochastic, many forms of socio-economic exploitation, which accounts for the general backwardness of both the communities.

The first attempt was made by the administration in the late seventies to check the nomadic habits of these two Primitive tribes and to settle them in colonies. Efforts were also made to provide them with alternative sources of livelihood like apiculture and养蜂 and other facilities which would allure them into leaving their traditional subsistence ways. The area was to rehabilitate them so that they can become part of the mainstream of society. These attempts proved futile and in no time the tribes as a people abdicated their colonies and went back to the forests because the schemes for rehabilitation were neither properly thought out nor sensibly implemented. Those who had got a house had not been provided with land or even the facilities of agriculture and irrigation. To add to it these settlements were far away from the land allotted to them. The helpless tribals had no way but to go back to their old hummers, into the deep forests and search for 'food at least' to what their primitive. They tried their hands at primitive and crude cultivation in the forest lands but here too they met with little or no success. Most of these cultivable lands were gradually usurped away by the local tribals and prosperous neighbours reducing them to landless poor. Some members of the communities ultimately

landed up as wage-earning labourers who were exploited and never given a fair wage.

The shortcomings of the earlier schemes prompted the Government to devise more effective schemes by introducing innovations and improvements. On the basis of the data collected after a diagnostic survey taking into consideration the background of the primitive tribes, several micro projects have been formulated to accomplish the projects of development of the newly identified primitive tribal communities. In this background the Hill Kharia and Mankirdia Primitive Tribes Development Agency Buduguda in Mayurbhanj district has been constituted in the year 1980 by the Government of Orissa under the supervision of the Harijan and

Tribal Welfare Department. This project has been functioning since January 1987. For the feasibility and decent distinction a permission the Agency has been registered under Societies Registration Act, 1980. This micro project is one of the nine such micro projects currently under operation in different areas of the State for the development of the nine primitive tribes of Orissa.

The total geographical area of the Agency is 1,29,73 sq. kilometer. The scheme is exclusively meant for the Hill Kharias and Mankirdias living in 21 identified villages in the Kandhamal and Jajpur Blocks of Mayurbhanj. The household and population of both the groups of people are given in the table below:

Community	No. of Households	Population (1991)		Rate
		Males	Females	
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
1 Hill Kharias	...	389	398	1,387
2 Mankirdia	...	39	71	130
Total	...	428	759	1,517

It was decided that time-bound programmes shall be executed by the Agency within a period of four years. These programmes had imbued in them the broader objectives of bringing about integrated socio-economic development of both these primitive tribes. There can be seen that they came to a lot of needs, problems, strengths and aptitudes of the beneficiaries. The assistance was provided under various heads:

Rehabilitation

Priority was given to rehabilitating the basic shelter and giving them houses to live in. Both the tribes live in very poor and sub-human housing conditions. A survey undertaken by the Agency not only ascertained this need but also the desire of many of the beneficiaries in this direction. Housing sites at Kandhamal for the Mankirdias and at Buduguda for the Hill Kharias were selected by the project authorities in due consultation with the leaders of both the communities. Kuttona houses with tiled roofs made by locally available sites were conceived of at a cost of 1,500 each. The scheme was on a 100 per cent subsidy basis to be implemented in a phased manner. Financial assistance of Rs. 100.00 per year for three consecutive years per house was decided to be given for repair and maintenance.

Agriculture

It was decided by the Agency to stress upon agriculture in order to give them a sound economic base. Both the tribes depended on forest produce for their livelihood. Both were ignorant of any type of cultivation. The Hill Kharias had somehow taken up unorganized and crude cultivation in the high and dry forest tracks, but the nomadic Mankirdas had never resorted to cultivation in order to earn their livelihood and very decently the project aimed at not only giving them some agricultural land but also basic agricultural facilities as irrigation and training in agricultural methods, etc. It was the aim of the agency to see that agriculture should become their primary means of livelihood. So far the Kharias' main occupation was gathering forest produce of many kinds, which they bartered with the neighbouring population whereas the Mankirdas' traditional occupation was to catch monkeys and make ropes, nets and mats, etc., out of palm leaves. It was felt that once these semi-nomadic and nomadic tribes were given a pucca house, some land and facilities for agriculture, it would give them a sense of possession and hold them at one place and prevent them from wandering about the forest.

Livestock

The project also decided to give some domestic animals like cows, goats, sheep, fowl, ducks, pigs, etc., which the tribals people would rear and thus generate an additional income.

Cottage Industry

The project also decided to promote the skills of the Kharis and Mankirdas by giving incentives by way of cottage industry. Their skills in collecting forest produce and rope making are being utilized. They were given raw materials for basket weaving, rope making, machine leaf stalks making machine in easy statements so that they could earn more money. Necessary training in these cottage industries was also provided to the beneficiaries, sometimes with small stipends as encouragement.

Infrastructure Development Programmes

Both the primitive tribes lived in extreme poverty and misery. These two basic shortcomings were tackled with utmost care. The project provided facilities and incentives for pre-school, primary and higher education. Besides, it was also decided to impart adult education to adult members of these communities. Health of the beneficiaries being an important aspect proper attention was given to the facilities to health care. It was decided to supply nutrition and immunization facilities to the pre-school children, pregnant women and ageing mothers.

The above programmes were drawn up after conducting careful surveys of the diagnostic type taking every single unit of family into consideration by the authorities. It was thought that such an approach would be of help to evolve suitable strategies and formulate specific Action Plans for the development of these primitive communities.

Equipped with the above clear-cut strategies and allotment from the Harijan and Tribal Welfare Department, the Agency with the Project Officer as the key plunged into the implementation of the programme. The task was onerous as it involved total displacement and then rehabilitation of the beneficiaries. Based on data it is seen that after four years of development activities, much has been achieved and the report has speed to the 19 villages inhabited by 411 families, out of which 36 are Mankirdas and 376 are Hill Kharis.

Impact of the Scheme on the Beneficiaries

After four years of working of the Agency it is observed that the administration has helped the tribal people in many ways. The Kharis-Mankirdas Micro Project, Jhajhpur has helped several families develop their agricultural land allotted to them by the Government. Paddy, Ahar, Maize, M Bet, Mustard and Groundnut are being cultivated. The Agency has provided pump sets and L.F. Irrigation Points on some fields. Care is also being taken to supply bullocks with sufficient covers to help in ploughing and agricultural machines to spray in pesticides when required. Fertilizers are also supplied at a highly subsidized rate to facilitate better crops. The development of a kitchen garden in the backyard in a most every household is mandatory. Now there are 1000+ units of Mango, Banana, Chow, Sir and Phooli P. The Majority of the families have taken to kitchen gardening. Saplings are supplied free of cost to them in order to provide incentive to them. Though only a few families have taken to tea plantations, yet the project is nevertheless noted.

The Micro Project has provided one room houses to 218 families under the RLEDP and to 16 families under the India Awaas Yojana. For development of cottage industries, many families have been supplied with leaf-stalks making machines, bee-boxes have been provided for the Kharis. Moreover training has been imparted to them in the art of bee-keeping and honey extraction. Several domestic animals like cows, fowls, pigs, ducks, etc. have been given to beneficiary families. In order to help those who want to start some business, rickshaws, cycles, rikshas, fishing nets, etc. have been supplied with low rates of interest on the money advanced. Two Mankirdas women have been given training in tailoring to supplement the family income. Education being the prime mover of a society and being a very important indicator of the degree of transformation a considerable has attained. Immense stress was given to this sector. Every settlement has one room set aside for this purpose. Primary education being very crucial, this room hardly of 200 sq ft serves the small children. The charge of imparting them early education was given to one of the village youths who had some minimum education. Data shows that till March, 1981, 304 students belonging to these settlements had been enrolled in the nursery and primary section, 3 in the higher secondary section and 4 in college in and outside the colonies. 486 adults had been

enrolled in the adult education training (Information sheet: HKMDA, Jashpur 3)

In order to reduce the high mortality rates care was taken to supply hygienic surroundings, clean drinking water, immunisation, free medical aid and vitamins to children and pregnant mothers alongside mid-day meal by the Child Development Project Officer under the ICDS Scheme.

One of the Settlement hamlets taken up by the Agency is situated at Magesada, a village about five kilometers away from Jashpur and only about 1 Km. away from the Jharkhand Highway. The approach to the colony is had on both sides by a small plantation on an area of about 100 acres. This is indeed the first positive sign that some attempt at development of the Kharas was being undertaken. The Horticulture Department has provided the saplings and the Hill Kharas Mankurdi Devlopment Agency was looking after the manuring and protection, by providing enclosure of these trees. The sap trees were healthy and robust. The Kharas people tilled and cleared the area around the plantation to help its proper growth out of which they even earned their daily labour payment, which was meted out by the HKMDA, Jashpur. These small (Munga) trees were used for making ropes and for decorating the wheels of cycles, after colouring them brightly. The money obtained from the sale was used by them for their daily needs. Since required only rain water and could yield for seven years at a stretch and the plants being hardy and thereby hardly required care and grew well on the rocky road side.

The Magesada Settlement Colony lay at the end of this hilly tract and the temporary Kutch road leading to the hamlet was quite good. Thirty families of the Kharas tribe had been rehabilitated and settled in thirty-one-roomed houses built under the India Awas Yojna. Each house had a little verandah but the householder had managed to add a small mud kitchen at its side to cook in the day and tie the livestock (Pony) at night. The houses lined up either side of a Kutch road and were few feet away from each other. It is a new colony in started in the year 1990. The colony looks rather out of context as it is as where as was the case in symbiosis with the former had been dumped here, away from their natural habitat surroundings.

Their original village was just a few kilometers away where they used to work as labourers for the other tribal groups like Kolis and Majhi's. They were always maltreated by these affluent tribes and were threatened with eviction from their huts at the slightest pretext. For the Kharas of Magesada village the settlement here at Magesada with the help of the Hill Kharas Mankurdi Development Agency (HKMDA) was thus a blessing in disguise. At least they were masters of their own houses and masters beforelong.

There was a tube-well, a hand pump in the centre of the settlement village, which provided them with drinking water. Few families had started a kitchen garden and planted Papaya, Sejma (drumstick) Bag etc. The only tube-well and the rain-water were the only source of water. However there faced problem in watering the pump. Each family had got about half the agricultural land to be used for cultivation but the scheme was a far-dry from what was envisaged as it. Agriculture had yet to catch up as no other facilities were absent. Being semi-nomadic in nature these primitive tribes had hardly ever practised agriculture. Most of the male members go to the forests few kilometers away to collect fire-wood and other forest products. In spite of the restrictions imposed on their entry into the Reserve Area of the forest, minor forest produce continues to be an important source of income for them in spite of all the development schemes planned for them. They sneak into the forest and collect them and live in constant fear of being nabbed by forest officials on duty.

The headman of the village happened to be also the oldest Kharas man. He had changed his abode six times to six different villages and had ultimately settled in the Magesada settlement colony and was happy there. Contentment was writ large over his innocent ageing, wrinkled face. In some families household economic activity consisted of making leaf plates and cups, and selling them in the local. He few families had fowls, pigs, goats, etc., but the others were non-existent in their previous villages of Kolharpur and Majhi tribes led to their killing and hiding of the livestock. The CDS Schemes for feeding children, the age-group of 0-6 and pregnant mothers, was being implemented here. It was a sight to see the children carry the ICDS meal from the nearby village in a bucket and distribute it among the beneficiaries. The

settlement being few kilometers away from the town, care had been taken to provide one or two beneficiaries with either a cycle or a rickshaw on a very nominal interest and on a very easy instalment basis.

The present Khera Settlement gives the look of a colony inhabited by tribals uprooted from their typical forest background and dumped in barren surroundings with just a roof on their heads. It will not be long before their cultural heritage will suffer and they are going to lose it unless corrective steps are taken.

The Khera tribe members when questioned fear that the Government schemes were certainly praiseworthy but due to lack of irrigation from the dry and cracked soils or nothing. They face hardship for a greater part of the year. They praised the enthusiastic Mahars of Mayurbhanj whom they never seemed to forget. Their mention is again and again especially in the songs they sing while gaily beating the drum indigenously made out of goat skin.

The journey to Kumedabada, another Hill Khera Settlement is a long, taly and arduous one. The 15 Km drive from Jashpur ended at the foot of a sloping hill, in a settlement of 16 houses. This hamlet was established in the year 1988. The Khera tribal settlement was in an environment similar to the one they had left behind. The surroundings are full of tall trees and hill slopes and with a spring of water nearby. This tree is a sharp contrast to the Madagada Village Settlement. The thick forest had some clearing on the hill slopes where 16, one-roomed houses were built under the Indira Awas Yojana. Tali, Asan, Sal, Neem trees surrounded the hamlet and the setting was idyllic.

The HKMDA had financed a cashew plantation behind the houses at the foot of the hill. Once again the tribal people of the hamlet looked after the managing and watering of the plants in turn for which the HKMDA paid them daily wages. They tried as far as possible to give each male beneficiary a chance. The project had supplied resin in the Asan trees and the beneficiaries collected resin, lac, etc. They were also trained in bee-keeping, and bee-boxes were supplied free of cost. The beneficiaries had the opportunity to collect honey and sell it at the local Government pride to the Government Co-operatives or Agencies. There was a positive change in the life-style due to the Government sponsored schemes.

With the Project's encouragement and supply of saplings to the tribal settlers here, they had also taken to kitchen gardening by planting Papaya, Bag, Gajjar, Lemon etc. This being an older settlement looked a little better than the Madagada settlement. Most of the young men and women either worked as labourers in nearby villages or go into deeper forests to collect the jungle produce firewood. There is a small school a one-roomed house type exists both for primary and adult education. It is a definite improvement on the facility they had before. Even though the school room is small, dingy and one corner of the room is full of white ants, yet it is encouraging to see that the children have learnt to read and write alphabets.

Their food consisted of tubers, which is found in plenty as their settlement was amidst the forest and coarse rice pounded at home. In one or two houses the young house wife pounded rice patiently. These tribes were really hardworking and even in the bitter winter days they have to manage with one piece of cotton cloth on their bodies. They revealed that they resorted to nature cure and used herbs when they fell sick but used allopathic medicines when affected by Malaria which was common in this hilly area. Once a while the Auxiliary Nurse Midwife (ANM) visits the area and supplies medicine and gives advice on health care. The beneficiaries had to travel a lot to get fresh drinking water as the only tube-well in the settlement yielded water which was red due to the presence of iron.

The Manjindra Settlement Village at Durdars is about 65 Kilometers from the district head-quarters at Bargarh and around 5 Kilometers from Jashpur. The approach road from the National Highway is a Kutch road but quite accessible and an entrance gate led to the colony of 22 houses. The one-roomed houses had been built by the Indira Awas Yojana. The colony have the distinction of being inaugurated by the then Governor of Orissa in the year 1988 and there is a marble plaque to that effect at the entrance. Their old village from which they had been shifted is very close to the new settlement area. Every house had a net hanging in front of their house by which they still caught game and trapped monkeys. In spite of all the schemes proposed by the HKMDA, and in spite of all the steps taken for their development the tribal people here still resorted to hunting and collecting forest produce, which peculiarly was still their main source of livelihood. In

the day time the young male and female Mandirdis either collected forest products, made rope out of 'Sisli Chopta' or tilled their land at some form of agriculture. But lack of migration facilities was always a big hindrance to agriculture. They sweated hard during the day labouring or tilling but at dusk fell most gathered ground fires charring and making Sisli Ropes. They even make a few articles out of Sisli ropes for sale in the Hati. The project had also taken care to train two young Mandirdis women in sewing and tailoring so that they could earn their livelihood. They had provided two leg-machines at easy rental rates from banks so that they could stitch new clothes for neighbouring villagers or alter old clothes and earn something.

The Project tried to improve the economic condition of the tribal people but there was a gap in the formulation and implementation of the programmes. A lot had been done but even from close quarters the impact could hardly be perceived. The Mandirdis still went to forests for hunting, collecting tubers and Sisli Chopta. Four to five Mandirdis families still lived in Kumbhse inside the settlement village.

Conclusion and Recommendations

The HK Kharis and Mandirdis living in and around the Simlipal Forest Range have been identified as the two most primitive tribes in the district of Mayurbhanj. In view of their extreme backwardness, poverty and desperation, extremely low level of technological development, lack of any assets or resources, almost negating pre-literacy and nomadic life-style, the Government has drawn up a Micro-Project for their rehabilitation and development. The primary objective of the project is to wean them away from a life-style of hunting and food gathering and provide them alternative sources of income alongwith a settled life-style. For the effective implementation of the various sectoral schemes of development, the Government established the Hill Kharis and Mandirdis Development Agency at Gudugdia, (Mayurbhanj) in December 1986.

The HKMDA has identified 299 Hill Kharis families and 39 Mandirdis families with a population of 1,387 and 130 respectively, spread over 21 hamlets. As the basic prerequisites of a settled life, almost all these beneficiaries have been provided with small

puchar houses built by the help of the Agency. Many families have been given Government land alongwith some other inputs for agriculture. In very few cases sources of irrigation have also been provided by the Agency. The Agency has also encouraged some of the beneficiaries to adopt new income-generating practices, like animal husbandry, horticulture and cottage industries like rope-making, bee-keeping, leaf plate making, tailoring etc. Attempt has been made to provide a school room with a part-time worker, two wells for drinking water and health-care facilities in a small way.

The efforts of the Government in settling these nomadic tribes have achieved success to a certain degree. The Hill Kharis and Mandirdis families are more or less residing in the colonies built for them. However, other programmes of rehabilitation and development are yet to take off. These primitive tribes can be fused into a settled life permanently only if they are induced to take to agriculture and allied activities. But unfortunately this is yet to materialise. Although, they are residing in the houses for them, yet they have not taken to the life of a farmer for various reasons. Temperamentally they are not fascinated by the agricultural practices of the present day. To make things worse they have hardly received any other legal or follow-up action except some barren land from Government. They do not have the inclination to improve these wastelands for the purpose of farming. As such, agriculture has remained a non-factor in their economic life. The scenario in other sectors is not very different either. It is a fact that some families have planted fruit bearing trees at some rehabilitation colonies. A few are raising goats, pigs and fowls. Bee-boxes have also been given to some families and a few of them have produced some honey. But these examples of economic activity are few and far between. The vast majority of these tribes have not been benefited by these schemes. It appears the schemes are either not up to their imagination and still or are implemented half heartedly. No doubt some effort has been made but there has been no positive result in generating any income for the family.

Any scheme designed to develop the Kharas and Mandirdis must begin with the realisation that these primitive and nomadic tribes are at an extremely low level of technological development in the process of evolution.

They have no economy other than earning their livelihood by hunting and food-gathering. They have no resource or skill to use to earn their bread. From times immemorial the Juntas have provided succour and subsistence to these tribal people. They have a symbiotic relationship with the forests, which are the only resources from their point of view. They have been depending upon forests for their games, fuel and various minor forest produce. After introduction of several forest regulations their tree entry and movement in the forest has been drastically curbed and the access to the minor forest produce virtually eliminated. Although the forest policy aims at providing certain rights and concessions to each tribe, yet in practice such facilities are not being allowed to them. The relevant provision of the National Forest Policy of 1988 is quoted below—

The life of tribals and other poor living within and near forests revolves around forests. The rights and concessions enjoyed by them should be fully protected. Their domestic requirements of fuelwood, ladder, minor forest produce and construction timber should be the first charge on forest produce.

In spite of this clear stipulation in the forest policy the Hill Kharias and Mankindias are deprived of their traditional and customary rights over the forest produce. Almost all of them living in the settlement colonies complained of harassment and inconvenience in the hands of the forest officials. They felt that their entry into forests is unnecessarily restricted. It is interesting to note that they understand the need to conserve and develop the forests. According to them they protect the forests instead of destroying them and only use the minor forest produce as their source of income. They appear to be quite reasonable and convincing. Whereas, it is the duty of the forest department to stop illegal felling of trees and the clandestine timber business by the influential men. It is unfriendly on the part of the forest officials to deprive these poor tribes of their means of livelihood. Entry of these tribes into the forest to collect minor forest produce like honey, melons, flowers, salt seeds, resin, herbs, root tubers etc., the forests are not going to be destroyed. In fact many of them sneak into forests and collect the forest produce of and on. But they live in constant fear and uncertainty of harassment and prosecution.

It is evident that the Hill Kharia and Mankindia families are residing in the colonies built by Government only as a temporary measure. If other components of the Scheme are not implemented on a priority basis in a reasonable time-frame, they are likely to be disillusioned and may go back to their nomadic life. Many of the families settled in the colonies do not hide their growing disaffection to the above problems and inconveniences they face in their new abodes. Based on the above study it is worthwhile to make a few recommendations for more effective implementation of the project for rehabilitation and development of the Kharias, Mankindias.

1. The Hill Kharia and Mankindia Agency needs to be strengthened with greater inputs of manpower, material and funds to initiate, supervise and monitor their programmes of rehabilitation and development more effectively. Persons with proper attitude and motivation should run these agencies and successfully implement these programmes with necessary dedication and zeal.

2. Care should be taken to choose any further settlement hamlets as close as possible to the aboriginal surroundings since the tribe people are so emotionally attached to such an environment and also depend on the forests.

3. Entry into forests to collect firewood, food and minor forest produce may be regulated not drastically curbed.

4. Better land plus better irrigation facilities should be provided to the greatest extent possible. Seeds, fertilizers and other agricultural inputs should be provided free/subsidized rates. Technical know-how of agriculture and training should be imparted regularly so that these tribal people are motivated to take to cultivation and settle down as farmers.

5. Education is the prime mover of a society. There should be mass literacy programme to cover all the adult Hill Kharias and Mankindias both male and female. This should be able to develop a mass consciousness among the parents to think of the education of their children as compulsory. The children of these primitive tribes should be able to receive primary education in all the rehabilitation hamlets. They should also get access to schools outside the village in the higher classes.

6. Communication and transport facilities in this area must improve. This not only gives a feeling of security but also instills sense of confidence for they do not feel cut off.

7. Activities in other sectors like animal husbandry, horticulture and cottage industry should be further encouraged. Necessary training with stipends should be imparted. Proper set-up with raw material and marketing should be arranged and enforced.

8. Finally, Voluntary and Social Welfare Organisations must be involved by the Government in the Hill Khana and Manjurdia development agency's rehabilitation programmes. The

voluntary agencies should be mobilised not only to supplement the schemes of the Government but also to ensure greater flexibility in the implementation of the programmes. No development programmes will succeed without the active involvement of the people. The rehabilitation programmes of the HKMDA have far so remained purely Governmental programmes without any participation by people's representatives. It is absolutely necessary to involve the voluntary agencies, people representatives, and opinion leaders among the beneficiaries, in the formulation and implementation of these schemes. Such popular participation will not only introduce greater flexibility in the programmes but also ensure mass support.

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Ethnic Aspects of Indian Sago Palm (*Caryota urens*-L) An Ethno-Botanical Study Among Kutia Kandha

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ABSTRACT

The traditional uses of Indian Sago Palm (*Caryota urens*-L) by Kuta Kandha of Phulbani district of Southern Odisha are usually not known by many. The present paper, therefore, deals in these plant species which are intimately interwoven in the social, cultural, ceremonial and many other functions in the traditional life styles of Kuta Kandha. Along with the precise description of the plant, the indigenous way of fermentation and extraction process of Toddy (liquor) from the plant parts are given. Toddy is considered as the sole source of food and energy for Kuta Kandha living in southern parts of Odisha. The data were collected during the Ethno-Botanical Tour Programme made by the authors.

Introduction

Many authors have collected certain information on the studies on ethno-botany in different tribal areas (Rai et. al—1970; Saramma and Datta—1975; Mishra and Dube—1991-92; Pal—1980; Pal and Beamerji—1971; Sahoo—1988; Choudhury et. al—1978 etc) of Odisha State. None of them has reported on a particular plant species, which has a significant role on the social, cultural, ritual life style of Kuta Kandha. Hence, in the present investigation attempts have been made to study in detail about the traditional relationship between Indian Sago Palm (*Caryota urens*-L) and Kuta Kandha of phulbani district.

Kuta Kandha is one of the many different tribes among the Kandha Tribe, the study on which is of great fascination among research scholars so far as their organization, cultural pattern, and ethnicity of life style are concerned.

Most of the people belonging to this tribe are living in between tracts, i. e., in the dense forest surrounded by hills and mountains. The Kuta Kandha are not fully pastoral or agriculture-based people. Mostly they live upon the forest product like tubers (digging out of the earth), fruits and wild root herbs, leafy vegetables, etc.

Hunting is also another important criteria in their life style. They procure and consume animal flesh as their prominent and luxurious additional food. Scanty agricultural output from land, non-availability of food during lean periods have made them to go for liquor produced in any form. They collect toddy from certain plant species (distilled/fermented liquor prepared by their indigenous method). This habit is not socially prohibited irrespective of sex and age. Taking liquor is approved by the society both in ceremonial and religious functions. The environmental condition viz. the high terrain topography and climatic factor have made them somehow perpetual addicts.

Country toddy is usually collected from date palms (*Phoenix Sylvestris*), the use being extensively available in tribal localities. However the sago palm (*Caryota urens*) is an important species in southern part of Odisha. In the present investigation the style of access of Indian Sago Palm Tree to the life of Kuta Kandha residing in Beighar of Phulbani district of Odisha is studied. Besides attempts have been made to study the association of this plant to their ethnicity in various magnitude of their Social and cultural life. Association of Kuta Kandha with this tree (*Caryota urens*-L) is known from time immemorial. This is also known as in English Bihari palm/The Fish tail

Sago Palm. According to Kutia Kandha it is popularly known as Medamara (Meda means Toddy, Mara means Tree) In Orissa it is known as SALAP

Abbreviations

KK—Kutia Kandha

E—English

O—Orissa

DESCRIPTION OF CARYOTA URENS SAGO PALM

Sago Palm trees are fairly common in some part of Agartala And of Orissa (Hajnne, 1821—22). The seed keeps up its dormancy for a prolonged period. The period of dormancy continues after two to three years and starts germinating in suitable environmental conditions. The tree attains a height up to 15 to 20 feet with leaflets (somewhat like those of palm) having 10 to 12 feet broad petioles very stout. Inflorescences of the tree usually come out during October—November and remain fresh till March to April. The stem is erect, unbranched round and smooth. Sometimes saplings are planted in kitchen garden and at the side of the houses. According to Kutia Kandha the tree grows better on hill slopes and foot hills than in any other place. A tree can produce Toddy up to three years before it withers. The tree attains its maturity at about 15 to 20 years.

Preparation of musical drum from root base (KK—Oak, E—Root base, O—Muli)

Different parts of Sago Palm tree have contributed a lot to the material culture of Kutia Kandha. A musical drum [KK—Tepka], mostly used in occasions like Marah Festival [KK—Bhaktiara, E—Animal Sacrifice Ceremony], new year festival [KK—Punkulu] is made out of the root base of this palm. The dome shaped root base, which is hollow at the top and blunt at the bottom, is cut from the palm of various ages after they die. The external lateral edges are cleaned by sharp edged knives. Each of such cut pieces look like a bowl. A tanned skin [preferably of a cow] is then cut into size to lie over the open end of the bowl shaped root base. A young, tender and flexible bamboo stem [KK—Menjira] is used as a rope to tie the skin over the open space in order to make it more tight and perfect. Gura [extracted from a herb called Jhikari (KK)] is passed around the flexible bamboo. That makes the perfect musical drum.

A matured tree trunk is cut into two equal halves in a longitudinal section with the help of an axe. The two hollow pieces obtained from it are used as drain to irrigate crop fields.

Process of Collecting Sago

The stem of young palm is more important because its pith generally contains a good quality of Sago. The pith (KK—Jendi, E—Pith, O—Manja) is collected at the premature death of a Sago Palm. Sago is collected and sundried. They use the Sago in different ways, etc., simply boil it to make thick food, prepare chapati out of the flour, prepare various types of cakes on different occasions and Sago is also stored by the tribe for use in the lean periods.

Yielding Strong Fibres From Leaf Sheath

Fibres collected from leaf sheaths are very strong. They use these fibres for tying up the culm of the cleaning broom [*Thysanocleista macrocarpa*]. It, maximum is known to them as "Samanga" and its inflorescence is known as "Sepetku". The culm of the plant is finely cut and sharpened. They are tied together with fibre (extracted from the Sago Palm leaf sheath) to make combs. Besides, they use the plant fibres for preparing strings of musical instruments, net to trap birds and jungle fowl and mures to catch small wild animals for their food.

Yielding "Toddy" from Inflorescence (KK—Karna) and Pith (KK—Jendi)

The inflorescence are considered as the best part of the plant for collecting Toddy. They simply make fresh transverse cut [about half an inch] from the hanging terminal end of the inflorescence. Then they tie the eastern pot at the neck of fresh cut end. This process is done successively three in a day [morning, mid-day and evening], during summer and twice in winter.

Each tree a fresh cut is made in order to avoid blockage of Toddy flow, which may occur due to drying up of the terminal end or for any sort of infections, etc. However they also prepare Toddy out of pith. Sometimes, Toddy is used to cook meat in the forest when water is not available. However, the Toddy helps in maintaining a thermodynamic balance between the body and the surroundings in different seasons.

Indigenous Fermentation process (KK-Medeng Mbipas)

The Toddy is sweet because of its high sugar content. Very sweet Toddy sometimes causes indigestion. Among the tribe, different age-groups of both male and female folks consume Toddy. They are aware of the fact of the low and high power of the fermented Toddy and they are also conscious of allowing particular drink of specific power to a particular age-group. Hence according to the needs of the age-groups they ferment the juice at the tree of collection. However they adopt the indigenous method of their own to specify the power of fermentation for different age-groups of male and female folks. They select bark of *Artocarpus heterophyllus* (KK-Panai mava, O-Panai, E-Mowis butter tree), *Artocarpus heterophyllus* (KK-Panai mava, O-Panai, E-Jack fruit), *Musa sapientum* (KK-Toda mava, O-Kedai, E-Pleasant) and molasses. But Toddy from Sago Palm tree is considered as the best among such liquors. Toddy is sometimes sold at a rate of one dumur (a unit) for one liter. Good yielding trees are sometimes sold at a rate of maximum one thousand rupees per tree. However producing the most valuable Toddy from Indian Sago Palm is the "inherited tradition" among Kutch Kandha from time immemorial.

to his family members, mostly to sons. In most cases, it is the will of the owner that decides the future owner of the tree. He may transfer his ownership to his legacy holders or to his relatives or any other person belonging to his village.

Some tribal people have divulged that in ancient days liquor was prepared from the tree like *Adansonia indica*, *Madruttia longifolia* (KK-Pulu mava, O-Madru, E-Mowis butter tree), *Artocarpus heterophyllus* (KK-Panai mava, O-Panai, E-Jack fruit), *Musa sapientum* (KK-Toda mava, O-Kedai, E-Pleasant) and molasses. But Toddy from Sago Palm tree is considered as the best among such liquors. Toddy is sometimes sold at a rate of one dumur (a unit) for one liter. Good yielding trees are sometimes sold at a rate of maximum one thousand rupees per tree. However producing the most valuable Toddy from Indian Sago Palm is the "inherited tradition" among Kutch Kandha from time immemorial.

Sago Palm Trees—A Place For Social Intercourse

The place where the people sit and drink the Toddy is called Medengbas. This place is specially chosen by the people for reciprocating their thoughts, ideas, aims, feelings, decisions, etc. In a forest where there are more than one Toddy plant tree, people choose to sit under the younger tree or at a place where Toddy can be brought conveniently from the collecting spot. Many decisions pertaining to village conflicts and misunderstanding for attending court for miles purposes, changing new forest patches for shifting cultivations and many other type of decisions are often decided at Medengbas with mutual discussion. Discussions, affecting other's sentiments and thoughts, or hampering social welfare, are however not entertained at Medengbas. They use a big spoon called Dumur made out of round of *Lagenaria siceraria* (KK-Anika O-Leu, E-Bottle gourd), to distribute Toddy equally among people participating in the discussion.

Guests are specially treated with an extra Dumur of Toddy. It is also customary to offer a Dumur full of Toddy to a friend for mutual interaction. Female folks, who occasionally visit the Medengbas, are served Toddy separately. On no occasion this method of distribution is neglected. In other words, every individual is entertained with Toddy at Medengbas.

Property Ownership

The tree is a valuable property of Kutch Kandha, because of this nutritious Toddy. In fact, Toddy plays an important role in making a tribal society mentally physically and socially fit to carry out their work efficiently. The trees are owned either individually or familywise. But the person who owns it gets its ownership. Sometimes the family owned trees are divided among the family members. However, women ownership is rare among the tribe.

The owner reserves the right to sap inflorescence of the tree for the Toddy. In the event of the owner's inability or old age, he chooses a man who would collect the juice from his tree. After the owner dies the tree is transferred

In almost all the rituals Toddy is offered to their gods and goddesses and mainly to their ancestral spirits (KK Dukhli). In case of the death of an owner of the tree, his successor has to perform *puja* during his first Toddy collection. On this occasion astrologers (KK-g. uka) priest (KK. uari) and headman (KK-Majhi) of the village are invited to the spot. The astrologer invokes the owner's spirit and chants "We are cutting your tree for Toddy. May your goodwill be with us. May your tree suffice sweet, tasty and plenty Today for our children (KK Muktadhi)". Then the Toddy is distributed among themselves according to the status and age.

When the owner of an immature tree dies, his soul has to pass through a critical test in a queer manner. If the Toddy collected from the tree (when the tree attains maturity) is plenty and sweet in taste, then it is believed that the departed soul had good and healthy feelings for the village folk. Or else, he is blamed as a wicked person.

If due to any unknown reason, a palm tree yields less Toddy, they go through a ritual. The village astrologer performs a *puja* by offering rice, leaves of *Bauhinia rufa* and *Thamnus monandra* (KK-Bilu, O-Chhaha, E-Thanthi grass) to the tree to detect the evil spirit and to satisfy it. Fruits of *Santosha arachidoides* (KK-Ganju, O-Bhalie, E-Merkung nut tree) is kept in a packet secretly inside the tree to avoid the evil eyes of the spirit.

In many cases they get a positive result and thus they become convinced. However the relationship of such rituals with the secretion of Toddy is ambiguous to others.

Aesthetic Scenario

In certain folk songs the aesthetic sense associated to the tree is often sung. In one folk song about the tree, their affinity for the Toddy is reflected. It goes like this:

"There was a Sago Palm tree,

Its Toddy developed my appetite,

I drank it to my full satisfaction

It developed my addiction and hunger also, which demanded meat. I went for it and could have it. Then I slept a sound sleep."

A conversation of love between lovers is represented in a Konkutan Kandha folk song which reads as "Made mata elangna dinkaraka mangta propata bavangadi.....

Further, the Toddy replaces pains and agony, sorrows and sufferings with smiles for Kuta Kandha.

Conservation Policy

The tree is rated by the Kuta Kandha for its contribution to the social life, cultural patterns, aesthetic sense, etc. The people deeply love this tree as it provides them with food and drink. It has also provided a lot to their art, craft and material culture. The Toddy plays its role in relaxing the pain from hard labour of the day and is indispensable for rituals and festivals. Its contribution has motivated them to preserve and conserve the species in their locality. Planting a Sago Palm tree and dedicating it to the interest of the local people is the noblest deed which visitor can do to be ever remembered by Kuta folks. The tree stands as a mother, providing its Toddy the elixir vital—by having which people of all age-groups survive and enjoy Kuta Kandha, thus, feels fit to tell, well said we.

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Indigenous Practices in Health Care

Brahmavati Swain

Traditional medicine has been defined as "that of whole, which includes a holistic knowledge and practice, oral or written, functioned in diagnosis, preventive and curative aspects of illness and disease to promote total wellbeing". Hence the approach is holistic with blending of physical, mental, social and spiritual wellbeing. Its use is global. Even in the face of sophisticated western system of medicine it has survived and is the only system available in the underserved areas of the country. Some of the methods practised by them, even though are harmful by our understanding, some have been found to be positively beneficial and scientifically sound. They represent an autonomous system supported by the community. While the Allopathic drugs are not only not available but have been found to be very expensive. The country has to pay hard currency for importing them which gradually is depleting our already low foreign exchange reserve. The cost is expected to go up still higher after the present signature of GATT Agreement.

WHO rightly had taken steps to establish collaborating centres of the traditional medicine for exchange of ideas/views so that the knowledge could be made available to all.

While the background is well set, and the wind has started blowing in its favour, the plants/herbs/methods are facing serious extinction due to deforestation, urbanisation, industrialisation, etc. Admixtures with other systems has naturally started. Unless vigorous attempt is undertaken, most of the methods would disappear and would become extinct.

Therefore, the present attempt is only to document the method/system right from the traditional healers residing in the most interior parts. The authenticity needs to be proved. It would take longer time including growing the plants in herbal garden and undertaking of animal and human experiments and such other scientific methods.

The present write up refers to methods practised to prevent conception. In some cases the English and Botanical names were not available and hence has not been mentioned.

NAME OF PLANT/METHODS USED FOR CONTROL OF CONCEPTION

1. Rektachinis

	.. Local name
	English name : Pine Palm
	Botanical name : Plum/Seago Rose
	.. 4" of the root of the above plant is ground, made into a paste and is given to the client only once. The medicine should not be given if the client is pregnant.

2. Champe

	.. Local name
	English name : Pogoda tree

	Botanical Name : Michelia Champaca
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Tundu Poda

	.. Local name
	English name : Toddilia Asiatica

Rektachinis

	.. English name
	Botanical name : Plum/Seago Rose

Preparation

- Roots of all the above plants are dried and ground separately. Equal parts of the above powder is mixed in ghee prepared from cow's milk and tablets of the size of peanut are prepared. The client is given 3 tablets a day from the first to the 3rd day of menstruation. Process is repeated for 2 consecutive months.

Restriction

- Client should not take hot and cold food. Water rice is prohibited.

3. Kalncha

Preparation

- Local Name
English Name : Crab's Eye
Botanical Name : *Abrus Precatorius*
- $\frac{1}{2}$ " of the root/bark of white Kalncha is ground with 22 black paper. The mixture is divided to 3 parts, client is asked to take 1 dose each on 3rd, 6th and 7th day of menstruation.

4. Pana Patra

Sweta Kanchana

Tundupoda

Gendhik

Preparation

- Local Name
English Name : Betel leaf
- Local Name
Botanical Name : *Betonica Verticillata*
- Local Name
Botanical Name : *Toddia Asiatica*
- Local Name
English Name : Sulphur
- Equal parts of roots of Tundupoda and Sweta Kanchana plant with one betel leaf and a little of sulphur is ground to make into a paste. Small pills of the size of blackgram are prepared and it is dried in Sun. Client is asked to take one pill a day on 6th, 6th & 7th day of menstruation and the process is repeated for 3 months.

5. Alkanabindhi

Preparation

6. Champa

Preparation

7. Pichukuli

Preparation

Administration

8. Hingu

Preparation

- Local Name
Botanical Name : *Clusiopelos Panira*
- Juice of the leaf of the plant is given to the client on the 6th and 6th of menstruation.
- Local Name
English Name : Pagoda tree
Botanical Name : *Mitchella repens*
- Juice of the leaf of the above plant is given to the client mixed with water stored over night.
- Local Name
- Roughly 12 grams of the bark of the plant pichukuli mixed with 10 number of black paper is made into a paste which constitute one dose.
- This is given to the client twice daily for 7 days
- Local Name
English Name : *Anisosteda*
- Antiseptic of the size of blackgram is put inside a ripe banana and the woman is instructed to take it on the 1st day of menstruation. this prevents conception for rest of life.

BOOK REVIEW

CHANGING VALUES AND TRIBAL SOCIETIES

(A Comparative Study of the Munda and Oraon Values Orientation)

SRIWASTAVA, A. R. N.

1992, (Foreword: E. Pendleton Bank), 294 P;
20 Figs.; 52 Tables; Appendices;
Bibliography; Index: 23 cms.

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The superstructure of the book rests on the conceptual foundation of variations in Value-Orientations laid by the less-famous luminary in the field of American Cultural Anthropology, Clyde Kluckhohn and his associates, whose contributions have been duly reflected and acknowledged by the author right from his Preface. The methodological perspective of the study manifests 'replication-verification' based on empirical data on two tribal communities of Bihar i. e., the Munda and the Oraon in similar eco-system. A learned foreword by Professor E. Pendleton Bank stimulates insight into the study and predicts for future researchers in the line. All the 17 chapters of the book have been well-knit, sophisticated and systematic. The methodology of research has been explicitly spelt out to "examine the Variations in Value-Orientations within a culture as well as between the cultures.".

The study adequately highlights the demographic features of the tribals of Ranchi district in general and the Oraon and the Munda tribes in particular and their cultural profile. Further, the composite Value-Orientation profiles of the two tribes have been discussed. The chief attraction of the study centres round the variations in Value-Orientations in relational area, time area, Man-Nature area and activity area. The author has significantly dealt with the inter-group variations. In these respects, emphasising dominant and variant forms of value-orientation. The author has meticulously analysed the data through application of statistical methods including Kendall's Ranking method of determining consensus. The findings show that there has been agreement in two areas i. e. Relation area and time area, whereas disagreement in Man-Nature and activity area. The general findings and specific findings presented by the author are still more fascinating. In the relational area, "in spite of a large number of disagreements there are patterns in Dominant and Variant Preferences, and these patterns are ranked". In the time area, "Both within-and-between groups variations are observed in the Dominant Patterns of the Value-Orientations. Present over future remains the most occurred pattern among the Oraon and Munda". In the Man-Nature area, there are more agreement within the group choices among the two tribes. In the activity area, among the Oraon the Dominant Preference is the Being over Doing Orientation and in case of variant it is just the opposite, whereas among the Munda, the Dominant Preference is the Doing over Being and the variant is just the opposite. The author is confident and emphatic through studies by others and his study that the tribes in Bihar are changing fast.

The Appendix 19 which contains the Schedule for study of Value-Orientation is extremely instructive for the future researchers on similar line in cross-cultural perspective.

To conclude, the present study which incorporates the dynamics of change in value-system has conceivable implications in the field of planned development intervention.

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